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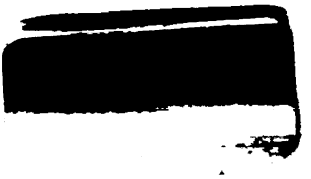
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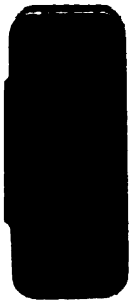


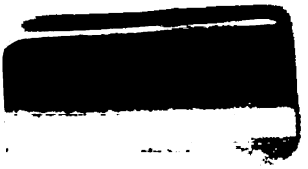
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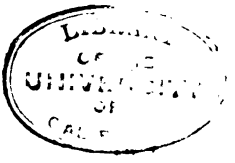




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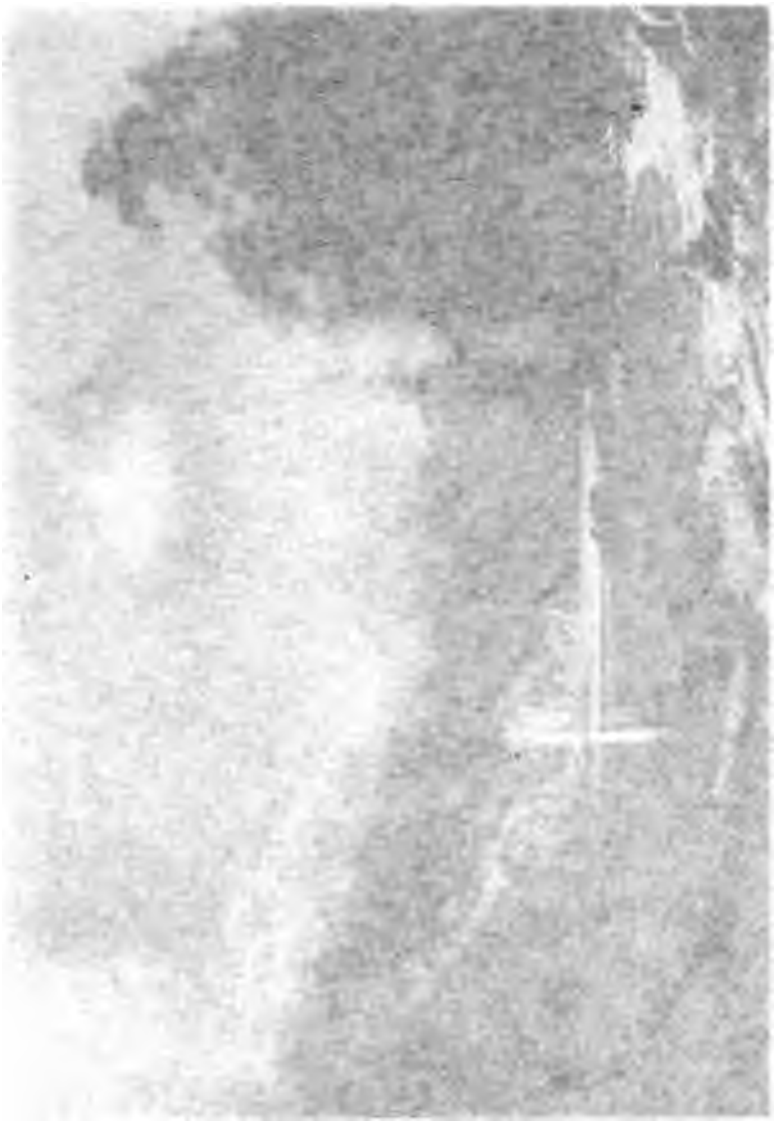
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THE HISTORY

AND

GOVERNMENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES

BY

JACOB HARRIS PATTON, A.M., Ph.D.

Author of "Natural Resources of the United States," "History of Political Parties," "Popular History of the Presbyterian Church," etc.

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WITH SPECIAL ARTICLES BY

Theodore Roosevelt, James Cardinal Gibbons,
George F. Hoar, James Bryce
Grover Cleveland and others

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New York

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CHAPTER LV.

TAYLOR AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Discussion on Slavery.—Wilmot Proviso.—The Powers of the Constitution; their Application in the Territories.—Thirty-first Congress.—President's Message; its Recommendations.—Debate on the Omnibus Bill.—Death of Calhoun.—Death of President Taylor.—Fillmore Inaugurated.—The Fugitive Slave Law.—The Mormons; their Origin; Troubles; Settlement in Utah.—A Disunion Convention.—Lopez invades Cuba.—The Search for Sir John Franklin.—Dr. E. K. Kane.—Death of Henry Clay; of Daniel Webster.—The Tripartite Treaty.—Presidential Election.

GENERAL Zachary Taylor was a native of Virginia; but when he was very young, his father removed to Kentucky, and on the frontiers of that State he spent his youth as a farmer. At the age of twenty-four he received a commission in the army from President Jefferson, and entered upon a career more congenial to his tastes than cultivating the soil. For forty years he was in the military service of his country; his sphere of duty was on the frontiers; and thus situated he had never even voted at an election. Honest and frank, blest with common sense and firmness of purpose, he was withal unselfish and patriotic, and uncontaminated with political intrigues. His inaugural address on taking the office of President, was brief, and confined to a declaration of general principles. His cabinet, at the head of which was John M. Clayton of Delaware, was at once confirmed by the Senate.

1849.

1808.

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CHAP. LV.

The question of slavery had appeared under different phases. For twelve years after the passage of the Missouri Compromise, the subject had not been agitated in Congress, but now attention was drawn to it by the presentation of memorials, praying that body to abolish the slave-trade and slavery in the District of Columbia. Meantime others, who looked upon the system as an evil to be remedied at all hazards, sent through the mail to the South publications, addressed to the slave-owners themselves, and designed to influence them in favor of emancipation; but there were others who sent papers that contained engravings by no means calculated to make the slave contented with his lot. The fear was great lest the latter might become the occasion of insurrections and blood-shed. President Jackson recommended to Congress to pass a law prohibiting the use of the mail for the circulation of "incendiary publications." But the bill to that effect did not become a law. The excitement was great, both North and South: in the former sometimes developing itself in violent measures against the abolitionists; in the latter, some broke into the post-offices and destroyed the obnoxious papers, and others raised the cry of disunion, while, so embittered, had the feeling become in Congress, that for a time memorials on the subject would not be received.

1820. 1832. 1835. 1836.

Now the slavery agitation was a legacy left by the previous administration—a question which overshadowed all others, and almost exclusively engaged the attention of Congress and the nation. Three years before the Wilmot Proviso had initiated the discussion, which was fast acquiring a tone of bitterness hitherto unknown. The contents of the newspapers showed that the question had penetrated into every nook and corner of the land—in social circles and in the retirement of the fireside—all were alive to the importance of the subject at issue; the

1846

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emotions of a nation swayed in the storm of clashing opinions.

The annexation of Texas and the consequent war with Mexico, came to be looked upon as designed to further the interests of slavery, and to commit the nation to the policy of extending that system. Those opposed to such measures endeavored to counteract them by means of the Proviso, but that had failed to receive the sanction of Congress. With the exception of Texas proper, it was uncertain whether the newly-acquired territories would admit slavery; the indications were that they would reject it. And this feature of the controversy gave rise to another question; how to introduce the system into free territory. Would Congress subvert the law of Mexico, which had long since prohibited human bondage within her limits? That body never at any time had interfered with slavery as existing in the States, neither had it directly legislated it into free territory: the policy had rather been not to interfere with the inhabitants in deciding the question for themselves.

The last Congress, absorbed in the turmoil of the discussion, had dissolved without providing governments for the territories. To remedy this evil, President Taylor instructed the Federal officers in these territories to encourage the people to organize temporary governments for themselves.

President Polk in his last message had recommended that the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, be extended to the Pacific, and thus leave the territory south of that line liable to be made slaveholding. Motions to that effect failed in Congress. That line had been adopted for the Louisiana territory alone, which was slave, and it made one side free, but if it was produced to the Pacific it would pass through free territory, and therefore make one side slave

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CHAP LV.

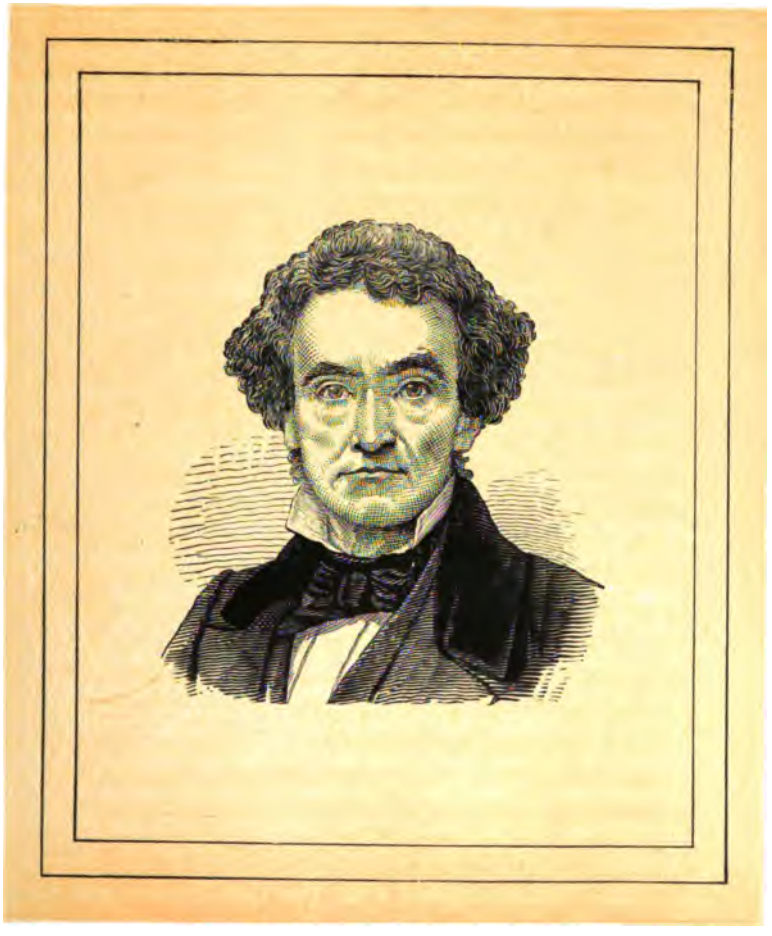
1849

The advocates of the system contended that they had a right to go into any of the territories and take with them their property, meaning slaves. That was admitted, but only under the laws of Congress, which so far protected such property, but it was denied that the slaveholder could carry with him the municipal law of the State from which he emigrated, any more than the emigrant from a free State could take with him its peculiar laws.

The same object was sought by attempting to "extend the constitution of the United States to the territories," and this under the form of an amendment attached to the general appropriation bill, providing a temporary government for the ceded territories, and extending to them certain acts of Congress. The proposition elicited a discussion in which Calhoun and Webster each took part. The former argued that the Constitution recognized slavery; that it was the supreme law of the land; therefore it was superior to every law in opposition to slavery, not only overriding any territorial law to that effect, but even superior to any law of Congress designed to abolish it; and that the property of the South, meaning slaves, would thus be protected by the Constitution in the territories into which Calhoun openly avowed his intention to thus carry the institution of slavery. "The Constitution," said he, "pronounces itself to be the supreme law of the land;" the States as well as the Territories.

Mr. Webster replied that the Constitution was made for the States and not for the Territories; that Congress governed the latter independently of the Constitution, and often contrary to it, and was constantly doing things in the Territories that it could not do in the States; and that the Constitution could not operate of itself in the Territories. "When new territory has been acquired," said he, "it has always been subject to the laws of Con-

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Irving Chunk

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gress, to such laws as Congress thought proper to pass for its immediate government and preparatory state in which it was to remain until it was ready to come into the Union as one of the family of States." He quoted the Constitution itself, which declares that "it and the laws of Congress passed under it shall be the supreme law of the land." Thus it required a definite law of Congress to establish slavery in the Territories under the Constitution, as shown by the words of that instrument itself.

The amendment failed in both houses; but it became the germ of another doctrine, that the Constitution of the United States, independently of an act of Congress, but in spite of it, not only goes of itself to the territories but carries with it a shield protecting slavery.

During this session of Congress meetings were held at Washington, attended by a majority of the members of Congress from the slave-holding States, to take into consideration the measures best adapted to secure southern rights.

They published an Address to the people of the South. It was drawn up by Calhoun, and by no means was it conciliatory in its tone and sentiments, and for that reason it failed to enlist in its favor all the delegates from the South. In truth it became a party measure. Only forty members, all from the slaveholding States, signed their names to the Address: of these, thirty-eight belonged to the Democratic party.

This manifesto was soon followed by a Southern Convention to dissolve the Union. The Legislatures of two of the States, South Carolina and Mississippi, issued a call for a "Southern Congress," to frame a government for a "United States South."

The agitation was not limited to the South; the North was as busily engaged in canvassing the exciting question, and both parties were summoning their energies for the conflict in the new Congress about to meet.

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CHAP. LV.

1849. Nov. 8.

The thirty-first Congress, called a month earlier than the usual time, met in its first session. Parties were nearly equally divided. The House spent three weeks, and balloted sixty times for a speaker, and only succeeded by changing the rule by which a majority of the whole is required to elect, to that of a plurality. Mr. C. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was elected; his competitor was Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts.

The first and only annual message of President Taylor was sent in. He saw the difficulties which lay in his path. The bitterness of party had been increased by sectional feelings. The President felt the responsibility of his position; but he fearlessly yet temperately gave his views, and plainly intimated that he should not shrink from his duty to the Union itself; deprecated sectional controversies, and referred to Washington in confirmation of this sentiment.

The points at issue were various, and he recommended a plan to settle each. As California, whose population had increased so rapidly, had framed a Constitution, he advised that she should be at once admitted into the Union; that New Mexico and Utah should be organized as territories, and when they were prepared to come into the Union as States, be permitted to decide the question of slavery for themselves; and that the dispute between Texas and New Mexico, in relation to their boundaries, should be settled by the judicial authority of the United States.

Early in the session Henry Clay moved in the Senate a series of resolutions designed to settle these disputes by a compromise. A committee of thirteen was appointed, to whom these resolutions and the various plans which had been proposed were referred. In due time Mr. Clay, as chairman, reported. The spirit of the resolutions was combined in one measure, which, from its character and the dissimilar objects it was designed to accomplish, was

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styled the Omnibus Bill. It proposed the admission of California; the organization, without mention of slavery, of the territories of New Mexico and Utah; the arrangement of the Texas boundary, by paying the latter ten millions of dollars; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the enactment of a more stringent fugitive slave law. CHAP. LV. 1849.

Senator Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, insisted that the bill was not equal in its provisions, because the South gained nothing by the measure; and he urged that the Missouri line of compromise should be extended to the Pacific, "with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the Territory below that line." 1850

To this Clay replied, that "no earthly power could induce him to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not existed, either north or south of that line." "I am unwilling," continued he, "that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and of New Mexico should reproach us for doing just what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us." "If the citizens of those Territories come here with Constitutions establishing slavery, I am for admitting them into the Union; but then it will be their own work and not ours, and their posterity will have to reproach them and not us."

Calhoun, now near to death, in a speech read by a friend, urged that if the Union would be preserved, it must be by an equal number of slave and free States, to maintain the number of senators equal in the Senate.

"The incurability of the evil," said Senator Benton, of Missouri, "is the greatest objection." "It is a question of races, involving consequences which go to the destruction of one or the other; this was seen fifty years ago, and the wisdom of Virginia balked at it then. It seems to be above human reason. But there is a wisdom

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CHAP. LV.

above human ! and to that we must look. In the meantime not extend the evil."

1849.

Soon after this occurred the death of John C. Calhoun. He first entered Congress in 1811, and during almost forty years had filled various offices in the service of his country. A man of primitive tastes and simple manners, uniting the kindliest of feelings with unflinching integrity, and devotion to duty. The latter portion of his public career was marked by the most strenuous advocacy of States' rights and Southern institutions.

Mar. 31.

A few months later President Taylor was also numbered with the dead. He suddenly became ill with a violent fever, which terminated his life in a few days, after he had held office sixteen months. He had shown himself equal to the emergency ; and his death was a public calamity indeed. Though elected by one party, his policy and acts were approved by all, and the whole nation mourned his loss.

July, 9.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The Vice-President, on the 10th of July, took the oath, and was inaugurated as President. It was done without show or parade ; merely a joint committee of three from each House of Congress, and the members of the cabinet, attended him. The oath was administered by the venerable William Cranch, Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, who, appointed by John Adams, had held the office for fifty years. Not an unnecessary word was spoken ; the ceremony was one of deep solemnity.

The first official act of Mr. Fillmore was to call upon Congress to take suitable measures for the funeral of the late President, " who had been so recently raised by the unsolicited voice of the people to the highest civil authority

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in the government." An impressive funeral service was performed, and eulogies pronounced upon him by many of the leading statesmen of the country. The Cabinet resigned, and the President nominated another, at the head of which was Daniel Webster as Secretary of State. CHAP. LV. 1850

Four months had nearly elapsed since Henry Clay reported his Compromise Bill. Its provisions had been thoroughly discussed by the members of both Houses. It was then taken up article by article and passed—the last the Fugitive Slave law. The similar law which had been enacted in 1787, as part of the ordinance prohibiting slavery in the Territory north-west of the Ohio, and also a law to the same effect passed during Washington's administration, were thought to be defective, and a new one was framed. Sept. 18. 1793

The Supreme Court of the United States held the opinion that justices of the peace in the respective States, were not called upon to enforce the law for the rendition of slaves. Since the agitation of the slavery question in Congress, a dislike to enforcing that law had greatly increased in the free States. The feeling reached the Legislatures and some of them, by law, prohibited the use of their jails for the confinement of fugitive slaves, and the justices of the peace refused to act on the subject. To obviate the latter difficulty the present bill provided for the appointment of United States' commissioners, before whom such cases could be tried.

When the vote on the reception of California was taken, and she admitted to the Union, her senators, Wm. M. Gwin and John C. Fremont, who had been in waiting, immediately took their seats.

The vast region known as Utah, was in the possession of the Indians and the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, a religious sect. It was founded by Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, but at that time a resident of Central New 1827

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CHAP. LV.

York; illiterate and superstitious, cunning and unprincipled; when a youth he loved to dupe his companions;
1850. at the age of fifteen he pretended that he had seen visions; and at twenty-two that he had received a direct revelation from heaven; that he had been directed to a certain hill, where he would find golden plates, covered with Egyptian characters, which he alone, as a prophet, was empowered to decipher. This was the famous "Book of Mormon." It professed to give a new system of religion, and to chronicle events which occurred on this continent long anterior to the Christian era.

It is said a man named Spaulding, when laboring under ill health wrote the story to alleviate his hours of ennui; after his death the manuscript fell into the hands of Smith, who unscrupulously used it to deceive his fellow-men.

His system of polygamy led to gross immoralities; and the vicious, as well as the ignorant, some of whom may have been honest, became his disciples. In five
1838. years he had twelve hundred followers. At this time the whole sect removed to Jackson county, Missouri. As they professed to be the true saints, by virtue of which they were to become the inheritors of the western country, they became objects of distrust to the Missourians. The militia were called out, but the Mormons avoided a con-
1840. flict by crossing the river to Illinois.

They prepared to make that State their home. On a bluff, overlooking the Mississippi, they founded a city, Nauvoo, and erected an imposing temple. Thefts and robberies were numerous in the vicinity, and these crimes were attributed to the Mormons, some of whom were arrested. The saints, it was said, controlled the courts, for the prisoners were speedily liberated. An intense excitement was produced in the country by these proceedings. At length the Prophet himself, and a brother, were arrested and thrown into prison in the town of Carthage

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A mob collected a few days after, and in the melee the brothers were slain. The spirit aroused against them was so violent that the Mormons could find safety alone in flight, and the following year they sold their possessions, left their beautiful city, which contained ten thousand inhabitants, and under chosen elders emigrated away across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains, and finally found a resting place in the Great Basin. As they were now upon the soil of Mexico, they hoped their troubles were at an end. They significantly called their new home, Deseret—the land of the Honey Bee. To recruit their numbers they sent missionaries to every quarter of the globe; that these zealous apostles have met with astonishing success in obtaining proselytes, is a sad reflection. 1844.

Meantime they labored with great zeal in founding a city on the shores of the Great Salt Lake. It is on ground four thousand three hundred feet above the level of the ocean, and planned on a large scale; its streets eight rods wide, and every house surrounded by a garden.

Presently came the war with Mexico, and the ceding of all that region to the United States. The Mormons were the first to organize themselves as a territory under the name of Deseret, but Congress saw proper to change the name to Utah. President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young, one of their elders, the first governor. 1850.

After the passage of the Compromise Bill, the agitation by no means ceased in the south. The design of seceding from the Union was openly avowed. A Disunion Convention met at Nashville, Tennessee. It invited the assembling of a "Southern Congress," but the legislatures of only two States responded to the call—South Carolina and Mississippi. The former elected their quota of representatives to the Congress. The great mass of the people were moved but little by these appeals, and the country

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CHAP. LV.

breathed more freely in the confident belief that the vexed question was really at rest.

1850. In no previous discussion of the subject did the great majority of the people of the Union manifest so much interest, not because it had become more important, but a great change had been wrought, since, thirty years before, the country was agitated by the discussions, which led to the enactment of the Missouri Compromise. The number of newspapers had increased at an unprecedented rate, and with them the facilities for publishing general intelligence and reporting the debates in Congress, and now was added the telegraph, which seemed almost to bring the ears of the nation to the Halls of Legislation. Yet in a still greater proportion had the numbers of intelligent readers increased, millions of whom became familiar with the question and the principles involved, and watched with increasing interest every new phase the subject assumed. This may account for the earnestness which characterized this conflict of opinions; the mass of the people read and judged for themselves. The philanthropist may not dread the response of their hearts;—they may be slow to act, but they are untrammelled by pledges and uninfluenced by political aspirations.

About the commencement of Taylor's administration, General Lopez, a Spaniard, endeavored to create a revolution in Cuba. He represented that the people of that island were anxious and prepared to throw off the yoke of the mother country; and by this means he persuaded large numbers of adventurous spirits in the United States to engage in the enterprise. The pretext was to aid the Cubans; but the real object was to secure the annexation of the island to the United States. President Taylor promptly issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the Union to engage in the expedition. The warning was unheeded, and a company of six hundred men, under the

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lead of Lopez, eluded the United States' authorities, and landed at Cardenas. But not meeting with sympathy from the people whom they professed to have come to liberate, they re-embarked, and sailed for Key West, Florida, barely escaping capture on the way by a Spanish steam-vessel of war. CHAP. LV. 1850. May 19.

The following year the attempt was renewed. A party of four hundred and eighty men landed on the island, but were almost immediately overpowered and captured. Lopez and a number of his deluded followers were put to death by the Spanish authorities at Havana.

In 1845, Sir John Franklin sailed from England in quest of the long sought for north-west passage. No tidings had ever been received from him, and the several efforts to send him aid had been unsuccessful. The sympathies of the humane were enlisted in behalf of the daring navigator. Mr. Henry Grinnell, a noble-hearted New York merchant, fitted out, at his own expense, an expedition which, under the command of Lieutenant De Haven, of the United States' navy, sailed for the Arctic regions in May, 1850. With De Haven went Dr. E. K. Kane, in the capacity of surgeon and naturalist. The search was unsuccessful, and the vessels returned.

The United States' Government now sent another 1851.
expedition on the same errand of mercy in connection with Mr. Grinnell. The control of this was given to Dr. Kane, whose scientific attainments were of a high order, and whose prudence and indomitable energy excited high hopes of the success of the enterprise. The search was fruitless; the results of the discoveries made have been embodied and given to the world. Sir John has no doubt long since perished, while his unknown friend, Dr. Kane, broken down in health because of his labors and privations, has also closed his life.

Two of our greatest statesmen, with whose names for a third of a century are associated some of the most im-

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CHAP. LV.

portant measures of the government, passed away. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster: The one at Washington, the other at his home at Marshfield.

1852. June 28. Oct. 24.

No two men were more endeared to the American people. Henry Clay, by his generous frankness, and nobleness of character won their love. Daniel Webster in his mighty intellect towered above his peers, and commanded their respect; of him they were proud.

Spain became alarmed at the attempts of lawless adventurers striving to wrest Cuba from her hands. France and England sympathized with her, and proposed to the United States to join with them in a "tripartite treaty," in which each should disclaim any intention of seizing upon that island, but, on the contrary, should guarantee its possession to Spain. A correspondence to this effect had already commenced, and to the proposal Edward Everett, who since the death of Webster was Secretary of State, replied in the negative. "The President," said he, "does not covet the acquisition of Cuba for the United States." Yet he "could not see with indifference that island fall into the possession of any other European Government than Spain." It was shown that this was a question peculiarly American, from the situation of the island itself; its proximity to our shores; its commanding the approach to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the entrance to the Mississippi, which with its tributaries forms the largest system of internal water-communication in the world, and also its ability to interfere with the passage to California by the Isthmus route. It was another statement of the celebrated Monroe doctrine, that the United States did not recognize European interference in questions purely American.

For President the Whigs nominated General Scott, and the Democrats, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire.

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The latter was elected, in connection with William R. King, of Alabama, as Vice-President. Mr. King had been United States' Senator from that State—with the exception of four years, when he was American minister at the court of France—since 1819; compelled by declining health he went to Cuba, where he took the oath of office. Then he returned home, not to enter upon the duties of the Vice-Presidency, but to die. 1852.

To avoid the inconvenience of too great a number of members in the House of Representatives, as well as to prevent the waste of time in arranging the ratio of its members to the population, it was enacted that after the third of March, 1853, "The House of Representatives will consist of two hundred and thirty-three members, Provided, that after the apportionment of the Representatives, under the next or any subsequent census, a new State or States shall be admitted into the Union, the Representatives assigned to such new State shall be in addition to the number of Representatives herein limited, which excess over two hundred and thirty-three shall continue until the next succeeding census." 1850. May 23.

Thereafter, when each "subsequent census" is officially known, the House determines by law the number of its own members "until the next succeeding census," and in proportion to that the number of its Representatives is assigned to each State. The Senate, in accordance with *Article* I., *Section* 3, of the Constitution, is divided into three classes, and when Senators are elected from a new State, first in order is the distribution of the times they are to serve into *long and short* terms. This is determined by lot, and ever after on the rolls of the Senate that distinction is preserved. A member of the House of Representatives serves two years, a President four, and a Senator six. This overlapping of terms is designed to secure deliberate legislation. The Representatives under the Census of 1900 number 386.

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CHAPTER LVI.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Purchase of the Mesilla Valley.—Treaty with Japan.—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—The effects of the Measure.—Emigrants to Kansas.—Struggles and Conflicts.—James Buchanan, President.—The Contest continues in Kansas.—National Progress.

CHAP. LVI.

1853.

THE new President inaugurated on the 4th of March, was a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Bowdoin College, and by profession a lawyer. He had served in the legislature of his native State, two terms in the House of Representatives at Washington and nearly a term in the Senate of the United States. William L. Marcy, of New York, was appointed Secretary of State.

Owing to the incorrectness of the maps used when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was made, a dispute arose as to the proper boundaries between New Mexico and the Mexican province of Chihuahua. Both parties claimed the Mesilla Valley, said to be fertile, but more important for affording facilities for a road to California. Santa Anna, who was again President of the republic of Mexico, and intent, as usual, on driving a bargain, took possession of the territory in dispute. The United States obtained the valley, and the free navigation of the Gulf of California and of the river Colorado, to the American boundary by paying the Mexican government ten millions of dollars.

Jan. 8.

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1853.

The acquisition of California made the importance of commercial treaties with the nations of eastern Asia more and more apparent. During Fillmore's term, Commodore Perry, brother of the hero of Lake Erie, was sent with a squadron to open communication with the empire of Japan. The inhabitants of those islands from time immemorial had excluded foreigners. The authorities were greatly astonished at the boldness of the Commodore, when he appeared with his steamers—the first that ever floated on those waters—in the Bay of Jeddo. He was ordered to depart; but he declined and insisted on seeing the proper authorities, and making known to them the object of his friendly visit. At length a Japanese officer appeared, who promised to lay the matter before the emperor. The 14th of July was the day named to receive the letter from the President.

The Commodore, escorted by a company of marines, landed. He was received with the pomp of an oriental pageant, and an answer to the letter promised the following spring. The answer was received and a treaty concluded. The merchants of the United States obtained permission to trade in two specified ports—Simodi and Hakodadi—and also for the residence of American citizens and consuls at the ports, as well as to visit without molestation in the interior, ten or twelve miles.

April

The measure that will render the administration of Pierce famous, was the bill to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. This was an immense region—extending from the confines of Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and from thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, to the British possessions. This vast territory was a part of the Louisiana Purchase, from which, by the Missouri Compromise, the system of slavery had been excluded.

In part this region had been assigned to the various

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CHAP. LVI. 1853. tribes of Indians, who years before, to make way for settlers, had removed from their lands north-west of the Ohio. The white settlers who had gone to that region wished that the Indian titles should be extinguished, and a territorial government established.

Jan. 1854. In accordance with this wish Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, proposed a bill in the United States' Senate, to organize this region into two territories, to be known as Kansas and Nebraska. This bill contained a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise, under the plea that it "was inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the compromise measures of 1850;" "it being the true intent of the act to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The people were taken by surprise. The question, so destructive to national harmony, and which it was hoped had been settled forever, had assumed a new form. The Missouri Compromise had been deemed a sacred compact between the south and the north, and as such, for the third of a century, had received the sanction of all parties. The irritations caused by the fiery discussions in Congress four years previous were by no means yet healed. A deep-toned feeling was excited, especially in the northern States.

It was just fifty years since the purchase of the territory, and up to this time nearly all its benefits had been enjoyed by those who held slaves. Meantime emigrants from the free States had been compelled, from their unwillingness to come in contact with slavery, to seek their homes and farms north of Missouri, and forego the advantages of the genial climate found in the latitude of that State.

These free laborers, as well as those who intended to

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seek homes in the west, complained that this region, guaranteed to them by the Missouri Compromise, should be rendered liable to be made slaveholding. Conventions were held and petitions poured into both Houses of Congress, imploring those bodies not to disturb the tranquillity of the country, nor violate the compact so long held sacred. The South did not participate so much in this feeling. CHAP. LVI. 1854.

In reply to these remonstrances it was said, the principle of "Squatter or Popular Sovereignty," would obviate all difficulty; by this principle the people of the territory would be free in their political action, and when they came to form their state constitutions, and ask admission into the Union, they could exercise this right and adopt or reject slavery. With this interpretation the bill passed Congress, after nearly four months' discussion, was signed by the President, and became the law of the land. May

Now came the struggle to secure the new State by sending emigrants, whose votes were to decide the question. Two years before, and not with reference to a contingency of this kind, the Legislature of Massachusetts incorporated a company known as "The Emigrants' Aid Society." This association had been inactive, but now its aid was invoked, and numbers were assisted to emigrate to Kansas. Similar societies were formed in other northern States. The emigrants from the free States went to remain and improve their claims, and found homes for their families. Emigrants came also from the Southern States, but with the exception of those who came from Missouri only a limited number have remained in the territory to improve their claims.

Conflicting opinions soon produced political parties known as Pro-Slavery and Free-State, and the practical application of the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" was

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appealed to, to test which party had the majority, and according to true democracy should rule.

1854. Nov.

The first territorial election was held to choose a delegate to Congress, and four months later—a census in the meantime having been taken and the territory divided into districts—another election was held to choose members to the Territorial Legislature. In both of these elections, the pro-slavery party claimed that they had chosen their candidates, but the free-state men repudiated the election as fraudulent; giving as a reason that the polls were controlled by armed men from Missouri.

Mar. 1855.

July 2.

The Territorial Legislature assembled at Pawnee and immediately adjourned to the Shawnee Mission, near the Missouri State line. They passed a series of laws, to which Governor Reeder refused his signature, on the ground that the Legislature, by the organic act, could not change the place of meeting appointed by himself. These laws were however passed by a two-thirds vote.

The Free State men held conventions, denied the legality of the legislature, and refused to obey the laws enacted by it, and made arrangements to choose delegates to a Convention to form a Constitution. In due time this Convention assembled at Topeka, framed a Constitution rejecting slavery, and ordered it to be submitted to the vote of the people, who ratified it. One month later the people chose State officers and members for a State Legislature. Soon after Governor Reeder was removed from his office by the President.

Oct.

Jan. 15.

During these ten months confusion reigned in the Territory. Outrages of almost every kind were committed, robberies, murders, illegal arrests and property destroyed, most of which belonged to the Free State settlers.

Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, who had recently been appointed Governor, now appeared and assumed office. He

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declared himself in favor of the laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission. CHAP. LVI.

The government, under the Free-State Constitution, was organized, and the contest took the form of civil war. 1855. Mar. 4

At the opening of the session of Congress, the delegate from Kansas, chosen as related above, appeared and demanded his seat. After a spicy discussion the House refused the demand, but appointed a committee to proceed to the Territory and summon witnesses in relation to the recent elections. In a month's time the committee had arrived in Kansas, and commenced the investigation. Their report sustained the charge that those elections had been carried by fraud. Dec. 1855. Mar. 19.

The summer of 1856 was signalized by the commission of many outrages, committed in different parts of the Territory. The Free-State men armed themselves, and determined to defend their rights. Several conflicts ensued and many lives were lost. Presently Shannon received notice of his removal from office, and John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, soon appeared as his successor. The new governor honestly labored to restore harmony. He ordered "all bodies of men combined, armed, and equipped with munitions of war, without authority of the government, instantly to disband, and quit the territory." Upon this the companies of Free-State men nearly all disbanded, but it was only partially obeyed by the other party, who had concentrated a force of more than two thousand men. The Governor, with the dragoons, threw himself between them and the town of Lawrence and prevented another conflict. Sept 15.

The presidential canvass was now in progress. The main question at issue—the extension of slavery into the Territories or its limitation to the States wherein it already existed.

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1853.

Within a few years political issues had somewhat changed. A party known as American, had arisen; their main principle opposition to foreign influence, and their motto, "Americans should rule America." The following year they were successful in most of the state elections. Meantime arose another party, composed principally of Whigs and Democrats, who were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory. They were known as Republicans. On the other hand the Democrats announced themselves willing to let slavery go into the territories if the inhabitants thereof desired it. The latter party nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; the Republicans, John C. Fremont, of California, and the Americans, ex-president Fillmore.

The canvass was one of more than usual spirit. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had even added new interest to the main question at issue. It had taken deep hold of the minds of the people; and they never before gave such evidence of their independence, and repudiation of mere party ties.

Nov. 1856.

Mr. Buchanan was elected President, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, Vice-President.

The House of Representatives at Washington passed a bill, declaring the acts of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas null and void, both on the ground that its enactments "were cruel and oppressive," and that "the said legislature was not elected by the legal voters of Kansas, but was forced upon them by non-residents in violation of the organic act of the territory." This bill failed to pass the Senate.

Feb. 17. 1857.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated President. He was educated for the legal profession. At the age of twenty-three he served as a member of the Legislature of his native State. He was afterward a

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member of the House of Representatives ten years; then Minister to Russia—sent by General Jackson—then a member of the Senate of the United States; then Secretary of State, under President Polk, and then Minister to Great Britain. Senator Lewis Cass was appointed Secretary of State, by the new President. CHAP. LVI. 1857.

Under the auspices of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas an election was ordered for delegates to a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution, but under conditions to secure a pro-slavery majority of delegates. The Free State men, for the reasons already given, as well as others, refused to take part in the election. It was held, however, and a pro-slavery delegation chosen. June. Meanwhile the other party published an address to the people of the United States, in which they set forth the wrongs they had endured, and to which they were still subject.

Soon after Governor Geary resigned, and the President appointed Robt. J. Walker, of Mississippi. The new Governor endeavored to remedy these evils, and promised the people of the territory a free expression of their wishes at the polls.

Owing to the influence of Governor Walker the Free State men consented to vote at the coming election for a delegate to Congress, and members for a Territorial Legislature. They, by a vote more than two to one, chose their candidates. Oct.

Shortly after this election, the delegates chosen as we have seen, met in convention at Lecompton, and speedily framed a constitution. It contained a provision adopting slavery, and this provision alone, the convention submitted to the people of Kansas to ratify or reject. Connected with this was a clause which made it necessary for those who were challenged at the polls "to take an oath to support the constitution if adopted," before they were

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CHAP. LVI.

1857. permitted to deposit their vote. This was followed by a proviso that the Constitution could not be amended before the year 1864, and then only by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of both Houses of the Legislature and "a majority of all the citizens of the State."

The Free State men refused to vote on the ratification of this constitution, as they denied the authority that framed it; but it received some votes, and was declared adopted, and sent as such to Congress. There the discussion on the subject was as bitter as ever. It was denied that the people of Kansas were fairly treated in not having the opportunity to vote upon the adoption of the entire constitution as implied by the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," said to be the essence of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

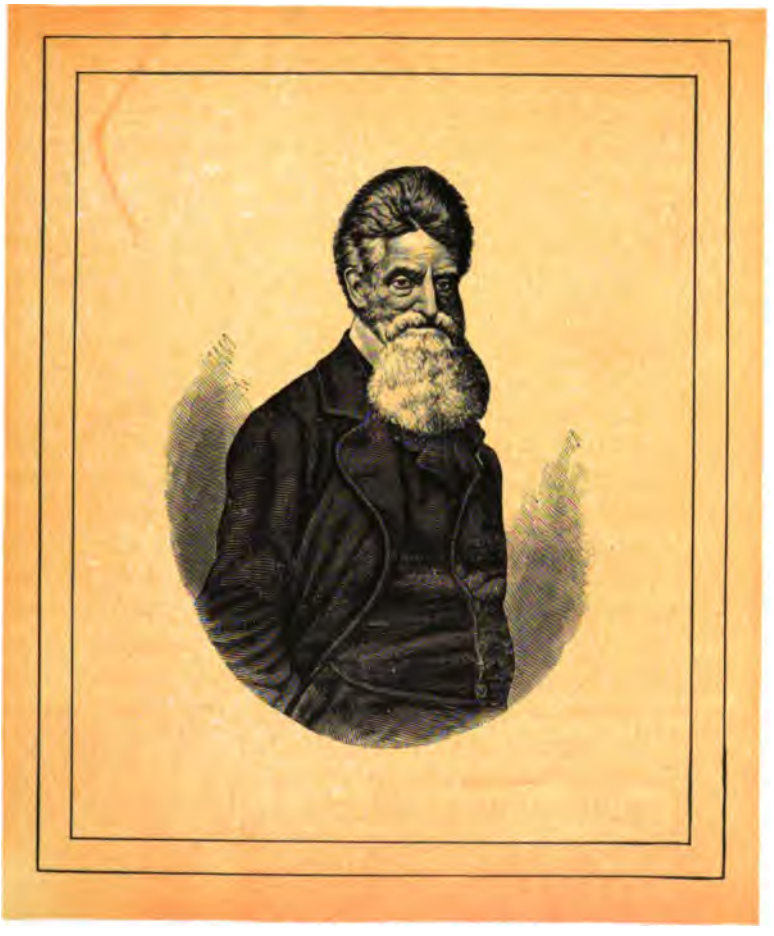
April 30. Finally, a bill was passed to submit the constitution to the people of Kansas, but on two conditions: one, that if they failed to ratify it, they would not be permitted to enter the Union until they had a population of ninety-three thousand; the other, if they did ratify it, they should receive certain of the public lands for State purposes. In the face of these strange conditions the people

1858. of Kansas, on the 2d of August, rejected the constitution by an overwhelming majority.

After this decided and noble stand by the Free State men in Kansas there was a lull in the excitement. Meanwhile the people were preparing for the territory to assume her place among the States of the Union when the whole nation was startled by an effort to free the

1859, Oct. slaves by force of arms. The plan was organized and attempted to be carried out by John Brown—better known as "Old John Brown of Osawatomie," at which place he lived, and who, in the Kansas troubles, had beaten off an armed force of the pro-slavery party five times as great as his own, the former having an unusual number of men killed and wounded.

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Your Friend
John Brown.

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CHAP. LVI.

1859.

This singular, conscientious, determined man, who under no circumstances ever swerved from what he thought was right, was a native of Connecticut, and descended from Peter Brown, a humble Pilgrim on the Mayflower. Religiously trained, he became a church-member at the age of sixteen; thoughtful for his years, at twelve he found himself an instinctive hater of slavery from seeing his friend, a colored boy about his own age, grossly abused without redress. This hatred of the system was never modified, but grew intenser with his years. At the time of which we speak he was a resident of New York State. When he learned of the efforts to force the system of bondage on the territory of Kansas he hastened thither, where he already had four sons, and three others who soon after followed their father. There in his peculiar way he became a leader among the Free State men in their conflicts with their enemies from across the boundary line of the territory and Missouri. In one of these battles beside him lay a son just killed, while the father in one hand held the pulse of another mortally wounded, and in the other grasped a rifle. Some time before another son had been murdered. With only twenty-one men he seized the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry in northern Virginia. He may have supposed the slaves would avail themselves of an opportunity to fight for their freedom, but none joined him. They always looked for some outside[1] influence to secure their emancipation. John Brown is represented as being kind and sympathetic, and his heart was moved as he contemplated the system of bondage under which the slaves moaned. He thought himself in the line of duty, and while we may respect his motives we cannot his prudence. The explanation may be that he brooded so long over the wrongs suffered by the slaves that he became

Oct. 16.

[1] Hist., p. 902.

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CHAP. LVI. 1859. partially crazed on the subject, and overlooked the insuperable difficulties in carrying out *his* plan for their emancipation. In the conflict which ensued with the State authorities, who were aided by United States marines, he was wounded and captured, after a severe struggle, in which thirteen of his party were killed—two of them his sons—six were made prisoners, and two escaped. During his trial he lay on his couch in the court-room. He met death in a calm and heroic manner.

This was the only instance in which an Abolitionist, as such, attempted to secure the freedom of the slaves by means of violence.

Three days after the execution of Brown, Congress assembled, and during its session was laid before it a constitution voted upon and approved by the people of Kansas. A bill admitting the State passed the House, but failed in the Senate.

1860, June 7.

1853. A treaty having been made with Japan that government sent, in the summer of 1860, a number of officials to bring it when ratified to the United States. This imposing embassy consisted in all of seventy-one persons of various ranks. They were received and treated as the guests of the Nation, and in consequence of this treaty important commercial relations have since existed between the United States and that empire.

Minnesota was admitted into the Union, and allowed to have two representatives until the next apportionment of members among the several States.

A change was made in the laws in relation to the issue of patents, by which "all patents hereafter granted shall remain in force seventeen years from date of issue, and all extensions of such patents are hereby prohibited."

1860. The Eighth Census of the United States sums up as follows: Entire population, 31,443,790; of whom 3,953,529 are slaves.

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The question of the extension of slavery into the Territories, was by no means decided in the presidential contest of 1856. During the subsequent four years the discussion of the subject still continued in Congress and among the people. In proportion as they read and judged for themselves, did party spirit lose its despotic influences, and the change in public sentiment, especially in the non-slaveholding States, was unprecedented. Many thousands of intelligent voters, who once acquiesced in the policy of the extension of the system, would no longer lend their sanction to measures the tendency of which they now better understood. 1860.

In view of subsequent events, a more than usual interest will ever belong to the exposition of principles as set forth in what are termed "platforms" of the parties in nominating their respective candidates for the office of President in 1860.

The Democratic party, at a convention held in Charleston, South Carolina, became divided into two hostile sections—the Breckinridge and Douglas—thus designated from their prominent leaders. One section—the Breckinridge—reaffirmed, with explanatory resolutions, the principles adopted by the entire party four years before at its convention held in Cincinnati. They proclaimed the 1856.
"non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia," and "The admission of new States with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect." The other section—Douglas—also adopted the Cincinnati platform, and likewise affirmed "That as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories," "That the party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme

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CHAP. LVI.

1860.

1849.

Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law." These resolutions are significant. That court had recently given an opinion known as the Dred Scott Decision, which was now assumed to sanction the doctrine, first announced by John C. Calhoun, that the Constitution recognized slavery, and sanctioned and protected it in the Territories.[1] On the contrary, the Republican party denied that this special decision of the court had a legitimate bearing on the subject, it being a side issue, and therefore null and void; and now, since other means had failed in Kansas, used only to introduce covertly the system of human bondage into the Territories. The latter party, at their convention held in Chicago, announced that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican Institutions." "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" and "That the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved;" also the rights of the States should be maintained inviolate, "especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively." "That the normal condition of all the Territory of the United States is that of FREEDOM," and they denied "the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

Still another party, heretofore mainly known as American, now adopted the designation of "Constitutional Union," and proclaimed as their platform, "The Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

[1] See Hist., pp. 832, 833.

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CHAPTER LVII.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Traits of Character, North and South.—Comparative Intelligence in the Free and Slave States.—Benevolent Operations.—Foreign Population.—Material Progress.—Compromises.—Republican Party.—Democratic Convention.—Presidential Election.—Intent of Personal Liberty bills.—Union Men.—The Corner-Stone.—Legislatures and Conventions South.—Non-coercion.—Feeling in the Border States.—Finances.—Buchanan's Message.—Fort Sumter Occupied by Anderson.—The Preparations.—Yulee's Letter.—No Vote of the People Allowed.—Mr. Lincoln's Journey.—Convention at Montgomery.—Fallacies.—England and Cotton.

BEFORE entering upon the narrative of the great Rebellion, and to fully understand its cause, we must notice certain influences that have had a share in moulding the characteristics of the American people both North and South. Though the people of both sections take pride in the same ancestry and cling to the same traditions, cherish the same love of country and have the same belief in Christianity, yet certain influences during a period of two centuries produced slightly marked characteristics. The Southern colonists, especially of Virginia and the Carolinas, had their notions of rank and aristocracy, and prejudices against the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons who settled in the Northern portion of the land. The Northern colonists had their prejudices, which grew out of religious differences in the mother country. The seven years' struggle of the Revolution brought the people nearer together by a bond of sympathy. The Northern colonists had a better appreciation

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CHAP. LVII. 1857.

of education, and they labored to extend its influence to all, beginning at the most humble, thus elevating the people by making them intelligent and moral; and for this purpose they established common schools.[1] As labor with them was respected, so voluntary ignorance was despised, while that which was involuntary was pitied, and an effort made to remove the evil. Massachusetts and the other colonies of New England were in this respect in contrast with Virginia and the Carolinas: the latter made scarcely an effort to instruct the children of the people at large, providing no general system of common-school education.[2] In these colonies—afterward in the States—the people of limited means were non-slaveholders, and when they aspired to a higher rank in the social scale they found themselves confronted with this fact. Thus trammeled they made little advancement, and in the course of time this contemptuous treatment on the part of the aristocracy frittered away much of the self-respect of that class of the community. This was specially the case during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. The laws prohibiting slaves learning to read and write were most stringent, and persons who should teach them were liable to punishment by fine and imprisonment, while "a code of slave laws, the most wicked that the world has ever seen, guaranteed the subjection of the victims."[3]

Just about one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, when free schools had been established for a generation in the New England colonies, a Governor of Virginia—Berkeley—in an apparently devout frame of mind, when speaking of the colony, wrote: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we will not have them these hundred years—God keep us from both."[4] His "hope" was virtually realized; as

[1] Hist., pp. 123, 124
Mackenzie's Nineteenth Century, p. 75.

[2] Hist., p. 235.

[3] Hist., pp. 138-142.

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it was more than half a century after that before a printing press was at work in Virginia, and common schools waited nearly two centuries for their admission.

Time has shown the effects of these two systems, so radically different, because the habits, the customs, and even the prejudices of the colonists passed over into the States, and though softened and modified in the transition, lasted long after the Revolution. For sake of convenience we compare New England and Virginia—they two being the most influential before that time and immediately afterward. In making a comparison we pass over about six generations to see more perfectly the results of the two systems of education. The one originating in Massachusetts was radical, commencing at the bottom and educating upward; the other in Virginia commenced at the highest rank in society and educated downward—*but never reached the bottom.*

Let us look at the census of the United States for 1860. It shows that the six New England States had a population of 3,135,383, lacking only 180,796 of being three times as large as that of the white inhabitants of Virginia —1,105,453. In New England we find of this population 81,576 persons, native-born, over twenty years of age, who could neither read nor write, and also of foreigners 75,554 of the same age, who were in a similar condition; thus about *fifteen-sixteenths* of this illiteracy belonged to foreigners, a large immigration of whom had been pouring into these States for *forty* years. For the most part, these people paid little or no attention to the education of their children. No doubt a very large proportion of these illiterates, though *native*-born, were the immediate descendants of these immigrants. We now turn to Virginia, and there we find 74,055 white native-born persons, over twenty years of age, who could neither read nor write, and of foreigners 3,152—that is, about *one-twenty-fourth* part.

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CHAP. LVII. 1860.

In New England we find that of persons over twenty years of age only *one* of the native-born in *thirty-eight and four-tenths* was unable to read and write, while in Virginia of the same class there was *one* in *fifteen*. Of the illiterates in the former about *fifteen-sixteenths* were foreigners; in the latter they were about *one in twenty-four*. Of the entire population of the free States of the Old Thirteen we find *one in thirty-eight* unable to read and write; of whites in the corresponding slave States, *one in fifteen*. Of the illiterates of the former States *eleven-fourteenths* were foreigners, and in the corresponding latter States they were *one in twenty-two*. In the free States admitted after the Revolution we find *one* illiterate in *thirty-three* of the population; of the whites in the corresponding slave States, *one in sixteen;* in the former *one-third* of this class were foreigners, in the latter *one-fourteenth*.

Under such influences it was not strange that so many of the *white* inhabitants of the slave States were not readers, much less thinkers. Had the mass been a reading people, and in consequence reasoners, with books and newspapers in every household, they never could have been induced, much less forced, into an attempt to destroy the Union in order to perpetuate slavery, and surely not in support of a *theoretical* interpretation of the constitution in respect to State Rights. The great majority of those migrating from the old to the new States or Territories, in order to secure a climate to which they were accustomed, passed almost entirely along the same parallels of latitude on which they had lived, and as they carried with them their institutions and habits, the contrast in respect to education and its results, as revealed by the census of 1860, was equally great between the new free and slave States as that between the Old Thirteen. Had common schools been as well supported and attended, even by the *whites*, in the slave as in the free States for

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the last century, it is doubtful whether the system of slavery could have reached its vast proportions, and more likely it might so far have passed away as not to be a disturbing element in the nation, much less that for its protection and extension a war should be inaugurated.

The general intelligence of the Northern portion of the country affected its material progress; the people of moderate means were self-respecting and industrious, and their material progress was continuous from generation to generation. In the Southern portion the people of moderate means unfortunately labored under great disadvantages. They were for the most part wanting in that general intelligence needed to secure success, and were stigmatized as the "white trash." With them industry was an irksome necessity, since they looked upon manual labor as the special province of the slave, and therefore degrading. The dignity of the intelligent farmer or mechanic, who read books, educated his children and obtained knowledge of passing events by reading the newspapers, was almost unknown to them. This was their great misfortune; the result of a disregard of their interests and their children's practiced for generations by their rulers.

For many years previous to the outbreak of the rebellion Northern newspapers not pleasing to certain leaders were virtually prohibited in the South, and by this means it was easy to deceive the non-slaveowners in respect to the true sentiments of the Northern people. In its influence upon society the system of slavery recognized but two classes: those who owned slaves and those who did not. The former claimed to be the aristocracy, and in their hands were the offices of state. Even wealth invested in lands and slaves gave the possessor a higher social position than the same amount acquired by the industry of the merchant or any other occupation.

The mass of the Southern people were grossly deceived by those who represented the people of the North as hostile to them; on the contrary, the sympathies of the Christian

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CHAP. LVII. 1857. public of the free States had been unusually drawn out toward their fellow-citizens of the South. They appreciated the difficulties under which they labored in respect to religious privileges; how they had never been trained, but to a very limited extent, either to support schools or the preaching of the Gospel. Benevolent societies (such as the American Tract, Home Missionary, Sunday School Union and others) labored for years to diffuse religious truths among the mass of the Southern people, especially the whites of moderate means, up to the time when their efforts were materially interfered with by political leaders who wished the relations of friendship and intercourse with the North to cease, as an aid to the accomplishment of their secret plan to break up the Union. Without going into details, these leaders assumed that the intercourse between the two sections by means of these operations did or would interfere with slavery, and their benevolent work was gradually restrained to such an extent that when the rebellion began it had nearly ceased, although, owing to intimate commercial relations, the merchants of Northern cities were more than usually liberal in aiding the benevolent and religious institutions of the South. Many other efforts were made to alienate the Southern people from the Northern; parents were urged not to send their daughters to schools or their sons to colleges in the free States; the separation of religious denominations into Southern or Northern was looked upon with pleasure by these leaders; as well as the alienation of churches of the same denomination. Only one denomination—the Methodist—divided on account of slavery alone; in accordance with the Discipline of that church a bishop has jurisdiction in all the States equally, and in this instance a slave-holding bishop became the occasion of the division of the denomination into the Churches North and South. Likewise, owing to the absence of a national system of finances, the moneyed interests of the country had not so great inducement to unite in preserving the Union as they would have had under a banking

1844.

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system by means of which the rate of exchange in commercial transactions between different portions of the Union would have been merely nominal. At the commencement of the rebellion, and for years previous, the high rate of exchange through the medium of State banks was a heavy tax on the mercantile interests of the whole country. CHAP. LVII. 1844.

Previous to 1826 the system of slavery was acknowledged to be contrary to the spirit of Christianity; and among thoughtful business men or planters it was recognized as a wasteful system of labor. When a Northern member proclaimed on the floor of the House of Representatives that slavery, "while it subsists where it subsists, its duties are presupposed and sanctioned by religion," the sentiment was repudiated by the leading Southern statesmen. John Randolph, in one of his pungent remarks, exclaimed: "Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises to defend slavery upon principle." In the discussions held hitherto the subject had been treated almost entirely in respect to its political and economical bearings, its moral character being for the most part assumed. Its unwritten, inner history, as a moral evil in domestic relations, was infinitely worse than that of its economical; as in this form it permeated society and poisoned it at the fountain-head—the family. Mar. 9, 1826.

After the failure of Nullification the form of the discussion changed from the economical more to the moral aspects of slavery, which now found advocates who contended that the system was not inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible. In opposition to this the Abolitionists took a decided stand. The pioneer in this movement was Benjamin Lundy, who was soon joined by William Lloyd Garrison; the former dying, the latter continued with untiring zeal the conflict till the end was attained. Their efforts, feeble at first, were made by 1828 to 1863.

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CHAP. LVII. 1828 to 1868.

means of newspapers and periodicals of quite limited circulation; to these were added lectures or speeches, and the formation of anti-slavery societies throughout the free States: and this continued for a generation.[1]

The Abolitionists made appeals to the slaveholders themselves to take the initiative in emancipating their slaves, and in recognizing on the score of humanity the inalienable rights of the negro as a man, and the sinfulness of holding him in bondage. Their leading members were specially careful to violate no law, but labor for the accomplishment of their object only by the presentation of the truth as they believed it; they used only moral means to secure their end, with but one exception—that of John Brown. They had themselves so clear conceptions of their own duty in the premises that they became indignant at the slowness of the conservatives in the church, who were unwilling to aid emancipation in the way marked out by these enthusiastic and self-appointed leaders. Nor is it remarkable that the prejudices of the former were roused by the abuse they received, and by the infidelity avowed by many of the Abolitionists. The latter were intensely earnest; they believed every word they said. Their startling invectives and fiery eloquence rang throughout the land like the tolling of a midnight tocsin. Their arguments compelled acquiescence in the unconscious hearer; the well-put truths they uttered sank deep into the minds of the people, like seed in a fertile soil, to be vivified and brought into life under other conditions.[2]

The slaveholders demanded acquiescence on the part of Northern merchants in the laws of Congress designed to return fugitive slaves, and to protect the system and further its interests—no others would they patronize. Competition in business in the Southern trade at the

[1] Hist. pp. 830, 835.

[2] Hist. pp. 885, 886.

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time was not so much in cheapening goods as in lengthening credits. If a publisher issued a book or a periodical in which were criticisms adverse to the system, even by implication, the newspapers of the South warned their readers against buying any books *whatever* of the offender. These demands, with others of a political character, prepared the reading people of the free States to take their stand when the crisis came. It was not till the deliberate firing on Sumter revealed its true spirit that the mass of intelligent people in the North recognized fully its deadly hostility to right and justice. This truth, like an intuition, flashed in their minds and conscience, and at once increased the number of its enemies a hundred-fold. Though the great majority of the people believed the system to be a moral, political and economical evil, they were perplexed as to the remedies to be applied in its removal. It was the farthest from their intentions that it should be removed by the horrors of war. They thought of no other means than moral, and certainly not by infringing the right of the slaveowner as guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws made under it. They hoped that the humane spirit of Christianity would finally abolish the system; but in truth the enactments of laws on the subject in the slave States were becoming harsher and harsher every year. It remained for the slaveowners to place themselves in a position which rid the country of the evil.

Another ground of dissatisfaction was the progress of the free States in material wealth and population. From about 1825 there had been a large emigration from the Old World, chiefly from Ireland, and mostly unskilled laborers; nearly all these settled in the free States, where they found employment principally in digging canals and building railroads. Scarcely any of these made their home in the States where slavery existed, because of the stigma resting

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upon manual labor, and also of the lack of enterprise in that section to furnish them employment. Meanwhile the intelligence and industry of the free States were carrying them far in advance in the enterprises of mining, manufacturing and commerce. They had taken possession of the region north of the Ohio and east of the Great River, and of the northwest. These plains were covered with farms, and immense crops were harvested by means of machinery requiring not one eighth as many laborers as under the old system—the sickle and the scythe. An outlet had been obtained for their grains to Europe, almost a rival of cotton as an article of commerce. Thus the progress of the free States, as revealed every ten years by the census, was unparalleled; and in consequence of the increase of inhabitants they had in the same ratio increased their number of members in the House of Representatives. Though in 1860 the slaves had *twenty* representatives in the House, and these elected by their owners, yet the majority of the members from the free States was overwhelming, and could never be overcome, but was increasing from census to census, while the equality of members in the Senate was gone forever. The leaders foreseeing this result —the termination of their power to rule the National Government—determined to change their tactics in order to secure their ends.

In accordance with the sentiment held by the people of the free States of non-interference with slavery in the States where it existed, Congress in no instance ever passed a law that was intended to thus interfere; while the Territories, the common property of the whole Union, were governed under the Constitution by Congress alone, by means of laws of its own enactment, and by officers legally appointed by the President. The disposal of these Territories was thus given to Congress as the common property of the nation, under the control of the representatives of the whole people; and, as in other cases, in accordance with the cardinal principle of the National

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Government, that the majority should rule. Hitherto, when differences of opinion or policy occurred, the difficulties were arranged by compromises. Such was the case in the famous Missouri Compromise.[1] And in the days of South Carolina nullification by a compromise in respect to the tariff.[2] In the annexation of Texas, a Territory more than five times as great as that of New York or Pennsylvania, the same spirit prevailed; and that Territory was handed over to the slaveholders for their exclusive benefit, though it had cost thousands of precious lives in the war which ensued with Mexico, and an immense amount of national treasure. This concession was made by the free States, when every intelligent person knew that the profit would inure to the slave States alone, and to the extension of their system of enforced labor. The acquisition of California was not then in contemplation, and this concession was an exhibition of good will by the North toward the South. The population of Texas, though its territory was so extensive, would only entitle her to come into the Union as a *single* State, and not *five*, into which it could be divided in accordance with the articles of annexation.[3] But California, owing to peculiar circumstances, soon acquired the requisite population to make a State, and was admitted into the Union; her people by their vote prohibiting slavery, preserving the balance of power between the free and the slave States in the United States Senate. With this result the advocates of slavery were not satisfied, and they resolved to make another attempt to secure the coveted majority. The plan now adopted was to repeal the Missouri Compromise,[4] which had remained intact for *thirty-four* years, and secure for their purpose the region west of that State. This repeal raised the question, especially in the free States, Will the advocates of slavery never be satisfied? Are the politicians, for personal ambition, to keep the

[1] Hist. pp. 692–695.
[2] Hist. pp. 723–726.
[3] Hist. pp. 748–749.
[4] Hist. pp. 846–847 and 851.

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CHAP. LVII. 1844.

nation continually embroiled in this question? It was only about ten years since Texas had been yielded to the slave owners—and yet the cry was for more territory!

The people of the free States, as they could not restore the "Missouri Compromise," were forced to accept the "squatter sovereignty" theory, and they put it in practice by sending settlers to Kansas Territory who intended to make it their home and that of their children; and, complying with the law in word and in spirit, when the time came they voted to come into the Union a *free* State.[1] These various measures to extend the system of servitude into the Territories excited an unusual resistance in the free States, and a party was formed—the Republican—to prevent by legal means that result. The pledges of the new party were not to interfere with the institution in the States, but only treat it, in respect to the Territories, as Congress had been accustomed to treat other questions, subject to the will of the majority, in accordance with the received notions of the true rule of the people. And in good faith the free States accepted the principle that the inhabitants of a Territory about to become a State might determine for themselves whether it should come in free or slave. It was fondly hoped this would end the controversy. The slaveholders were still unsatisfied, and they prepared to carry out their plans of seceding from the Union. The census of 1860 was about to show a still greater increase of population in the free States, and in consequence a still greater majority in the House; while the ratio of their material prosperity was greater than ever. The same year Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was elected President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, Vice President. This was proclaimed a sectional election, for the express purpose of destroying slavery and ruining the South. It is proper to notice the means used to obtain this result.

[1] Hist. pp. 851, 878.

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Plans were laid to secede long before the time the political parties were accustomed to make their nominations, and it was openly proclaimed that if an "Abolitionist"—thus designating a Republican—should be elected, the slave States would secede. When the Democratic Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the presidency, it was soon discovered that ulterior views were entertained by certain members from the extreme Southern States. These demanded of their fellow members from the free States expression on the subject of slavery contrary to their convictions, and they also endeavored to repudiate Mr. Douglas, the most popular candidate of the party in the free States. The disunionists, unable to enforce their own plans, seceded from the Convention, and thus prevented a nomination. The united Democratic party could, with ease, have elected their candidate, but should he not be a pronounced secessionist the Southern wing determined to divide the party, and thus secure the election of a Republican, and seize upon that as a pretext for breaking up the Union.

The Convention thus disorganized did not make a nomination, but adjourned to meet at Baltimore June 18th, and the seceders to meet at Richmond, June 11th: Mr. Douglas was nominated by the conservatives, and John C. Breckenridge by the seceders, or disunionists.

The candidates for the presidency were now Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, nominated by the Republicans; Stephen A. Douglas, of the same State, John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and John Bell, of Tennessee, on a platform of the "Union and the Constitution." On the sixth of November the election was held and Mr. Lincoln was chosen, he having 180 electoral votes; Mr. Breckenridge 72, Mr. Bell 39, and Mr. Douglas 12. Of the popular vote Mr. Lincoln, 1,857,610; Mr. Douglas, 1,365,976; Mr. Breckenridge, 847,953, and Mr. Bell 590,631. Owing to the system of electing by States, Mr. Lincoln had a majority of

Nov. 6.

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the electoral vote, while he had only a plurality of the popular vote, and Mr. Douglas had only 12 electoral votes to Mr. Breckenridge's 72, while the former's majority over the latter in the popular vote was more than half a million. It is supposed that not more than two-thirds of the popular vote for Breckenridge really desired secession, and then the vote in favor of Union was nearly seven to one; and even if they all desired it, the vote was then about four and a half to one.

The election of Mr. Lincoln was hailed with joy by the secessionists, especially in Charleston, South Carolina, which city had been foremost in these hostile demonstrations against the National Government. A State Convention, as soon as the result of the presidential election was known, assembled in Charleston, and declared that "the union before existing between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America was dissolved." The sympathizers of the movement in the "Cotton States" sent telegraphic messages of congratulation to South Carolina on her prompt action in seceding, and also promised aid; this was done to manufacture public sentiment. The stratagem did not fully succeed, the mass of the Southern people were by no means in favor of the disruption of the Union; the moderate men urged that nothing should be done harshly or hurriedly, their sentiment was: "wait till Mr. Lincoln is inaugurated, and commits the overt act." Virginia urged that time should be given for an effort in Congress to obtain certain measures; such as the repeal of the Personal Liberty bills in some of the free States; and a pledge that the fugitive slave law would be henceforth more promptly enforced; and the concession that the Constitution authorized slavery in the territories, and the protection of slaves as property.

The secessionists did not charge that the presidential election was unfair or illegal, but they assumed that the administration about to come into power would do something especially against slavery. The "Cotton States"

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complained bitterly that the Fugitive Slave Law was not promptly enforced in the free States, but was obstructed by the Personal liberty bills; yet, the truth was, very few slaves from the Cotton States ever reached the free States. The runaways were from the border States, who were not so strenuous on the subject as to wish, on that account, to break up the Union, but proposed to remedy the evil complained of by influencing Congress. The Personal Liberty bills in the free States were a dictate of humanity and were designed to accomplish two objects: one, to prevent the colored freemen of the free States being kidnapped, and the other to secure to those who were charged with fleeing from slavery a fair and impartial trial as guaranteed to every person by the Constitution of the United States. If it was established that the person thus seized had escaped from service, these laws did not forbid the rendition of the fugitive to the person claiming such service. The Fugitive Slave law consigned the person thus seized to a commissioner to be handed over to slavery in such haste as to exclude him from the benefit of a fair trial, at the place of his residence, where he was known and could obtain witnesses.

Meantime, by high handed measures the Union men in the Cotton States were gradually coerced and rendered almost powerless under the persistent efforts of the secessionists. Throughout the slave States the non-slaveowners, almost universally, were Union men, and opposed to secession, and looked upon the war of the rebellion as designed by those who commenced it to perpetuate and extend that system. In voting, when they had opportunity they rejected the principle of secession; neither did they, as a class, enter the rebel army until forced into its ranks by an unrelenting conscription.

It is strange that these leaders were unable or unwilling to see that the decline, which was noticeable forty years before, of the material prosperity of the slave States, was owing to that wasteful system; and still more strange that in

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CHAP. LVII. 1860. the face of these facts they were continually devising means to extend a system of labor which failed to give them success as a people. An exponent of the basis of the confederacy may be found in an address by its Vice President and ablest statesman, A. H. Stephens; he proclaims the true condition of the negro to be that of servitude as an inferior being; alluding to the United States Constitution and its framers he said: "This stone (slavery) which was rejected by the first builders is become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice." And these disunionists went to war to protect and extend slavery; the National Government, as a matter of defense, to protect the public property and to defend the Union of the States.

1861. Mar. 21.

The Governors of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana, and Alabama took measures to have special sessions of the Legislatures called, or to have conventions held the members of which were to be elected by the people. The States of North Carolina and Arkansas did not take action by their Legislatures, as the majority of the people were opposed to secession. Thus was Tennessee also loyal to the Union. This loyalty was greatly strengthened by Andrew Johnson in the United States Senate and Emerson Etheridge in the House.

The doctrine that the President could not *coerce* a State was strenuously urged as a political truth; and it gave the disunionists great encouragement to know that Mr. Buchanan, the President, was understood to hold that opinion, hence it became necessary to press matters in order to complete the secession movement before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. Meetings to promote the cause were held in prominent places in the Cotton States, and the most remarkable misrepresentations were put forth in respect to the action and the sentiments of the people of the free States; and these passed without contradiction, for that was prevented by the exclusion of Northern declarations to the contrary and Northern newspapers. It is

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not strange that by these means the people, especially the least intelligent, were grossly deceived.

The majority of the people of the border States was opposed to these disunion measures; they knew that in case of war between the two sections they must suffer most from their geographical position, and they did not wish to be made a shield for their rash neighbors. These secession measures were planned and carried out by comparatively very few men, the people scarcely having an opportunity to take action on the subject. When the Colonies complained to England the people had the opportunity of freely expressing their views.

The events transpiring had an influence upon the finances of the country. Business began to decline, and capital, ever sensitive, to withdraw from investment. The vast quantities of merchandise on hand were thrown upon the market both by the importer and the domestic manufacturer. Early in November almost the only trade with the South was that of fire-arms; and former debts from that section were unpaid, while exchange was so high as to be almost ruinous to the honorable Southern merchants who wished to pay their Northern creditors. Meanwhile some of the Southern State Legislatures authorized the suspension of specie payments by the banks, and also a *suspension* of payments of debts due Northern creditors. This state of trade affected the National Government, and it was forced to borrow money at high rates of interest to pay the current expenses.

Nov.

The forts, arsenals, and navy-yards in the South had very few soldiers in them to protect the United States property; only eighty men were in Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, where, from indications, would be the first assault upon the authority of the Government. The venerable Lieutenant-General Scott urged the President for permission to throw a sufficient number of men into the fort to defend it from any attack the insurgents might make. But in vain. The President in his timidity and

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trammels of party would not comply with this patriotic request. The loyal people were astounded at this apathy or remission of duty.

The Legislature of South Carolina provided for the military defense of the State; they were henceforth to be "a people happy, prosperous, and free." The army and navy officers—natives of the State, more than sixty in number—were urged to resign their commissions and join the ranks of secession. "Vigilance Associations" were formed throughout the State; these assumed "full power to decide all cases that might be brought before them," "power to arrest all suspicious white persons and bring them before the Executive Committee for trial," to put down all negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and all congregations of negroes, that they (the Associations) might deem unlawful. Under these committees great numbers—because they were from the North—of men and women, teachers, preachers, travelers, and others were driven from the State.

Dec. 3.

The second session of the 36th Congress began, and President Buchanan sent in his Annual Message, in which he ascribed the existing evils between the States to the "violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, which had at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with some vague notions of freedom." He announced that the revenue must be collected; he denied the right of a State to secede, but he had no authority under the Constitution to coerce a State—a doctrine very consoling to those who had entered upon the treasonable attempt to break up the Union. He suggested that the late election of President did not afford just cause for dissolving the Union; that the incoming President could not, if he wished, interfere with slavery; he was the executor of the laws, not the maker nor the expounder. These facts the disunion leaders well knew, but they were encouraged by this announcement of non-coercion to urge the

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slave States into secession before the new President was inaugurated.

Discussions continued in both Houses of Congress; resolutions in great numbers were introduced by the members, to be referred to the Committee of Thirty-three, which had been appointed on the state of the country. These resolutions show the state of feeling of the members on the subject, and indeed of all the people, their constituents. Efforts were made by the committee to arrive at a satisfactory result by guaranteeing what the slaveowners desired, but it was soon seen that all conciliatory measures were vain; the secessionists did not want compromises; nothing short of absolute separation would satisfy them; and the thinking portion of the people saw that no concessions would avert the calamity of an attempt to destroy the Union.

Floyd, the Secretary of War, early in December passed over to the Governor of South Carolina the United States arsenal at Charleston under the pretext of preventing its being seized by the mob. Here were 70,000 stand of arms, the quotas designed for several Southern States. On the day on which South Carolina seceded he sent an order to the commandant of the Alleghany arsenal, near Pittsburg, "to ship 78 guns to Newport, near Galveston, Texas, and 46 guns to Ship Island, near Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi river." These forts were far from being finished or ready for their guns, but they were to be slyly transferred to the secessionists. The loyal people of Pittsburg protested against the shipment and the President countermanded the order. These guns were ten and eight-inch columbiads, the largest and finest in the country.

Dec. 24.

Three days after South Carolina seceded Major Robert Anderson, who was in command of the forts in Charleston Harbor, dismantling Fort Moultrie, spiking the guns and burning the carriages, evacuated it, taking with him its munitions of war, and occupied Fort Sumter. Prudence dictated this transfer, as no reinforcements came and Fort

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Moultrie could easily be taken on the land side, as that was unfortified. Castle Pinckney, another fort, was dismantled in the same manner.

This movement created the most intense excitement throughout the land; the loyal portion thinking it an indication that the government intended to resist the insurgents. In the South the spirit of rebellion was more than ever rampant. The leaders professed to believe this the first advance in "coercing" a State. Major Anderson had only seventy-nine effective men, but in that little band were no traitors.

Forts Moultrie and Pinckney were at once occupied by the State militia, under orders from Governor Pickens. These were armed from the United States arsenal. It had been proclaimed that "our young men will do the storming and escalading; our slaves will raise the crops, and make our ditches, glacis, and earthworks for our defense." In accordance with this, more than a thousand negroes, sent by their masters, were put to work to repair the forts and mount guns. This could easily have been prevented by shells from Fort Sumter's guns, but Major Anderson had orders to act only on the defensive. Soon as possible commissioners from Charleston came to Washington and demanded of the President either to order Major Anderson to evacuate all the forts in the harbor or reoccupy Fort Moultrie! This demand, so arrogant in its manner and terms, was not granted. From this time onward the "vigilance committees" were a greater terror than ever to the Union men and women, especially those of Northern birth. The atrocities inflicted upon them and the free negroes would seem incredible in this age, if the spirit which inspired them is not recognized.

The Collector of the Port of Charleston began to pay over to the State authorities the duties he collected. The President resolved to collect the duties on shipboard by sending a revenue cutter to lie off the harbor. He removed the Collector from office and nominated another; this nom-

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ination he sent to the Senate for confirmation, but it was rejected by means of a few Northern Democratic Senators aiding those from the South.

Jan. 6. At a caucus held at Washington by the Senators from seven of the Southern States it was resolved to assume, for the present, the political control, and also the military affairs, of the South; to advise the calling of a convention of delegates from these seceding States, to meet at Montgomery on the 13th of the following February; to coerce the border States to secede, and in some way influence Maryland into a conflict with the National Government. They were of the opinion that by remaining in the Senate, though their States had seceded, they might prevent the passage of any measures such as the Volunteer, Force, or Loan bills, and thus disable the incoming administration from defending the Government's authority. In a letter* written from Washington, and dated January 7th, Yulee, one of the Senators from Florida, says, in speaking of the above bills: "Whereas, by remaining in our places until the 4th of March, it is thought we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming administration." Yet these Senators were at this very time under oath to support the Constitution and the Government. They assumed that Mr. Lincoln would be compelled to wait until a special session of the new Congress could assemble in order to vote supplies, authorize the necessary military expenses and calls for volunteers.

These leaders in only one State, South Carolina, permitted the people to vote direct on the subject of secession. The conventions, to which the people elected delegates with the understanding that their action was to be submitted to them for their approval or rejection, took the responsibility to pass ordinances of secession, upon which they did not dare give the people an opportunity to pass

* This letter, among other documents, was found at Fernandina, Florida, by the Union forces.

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judgment by their vote. This was contrary to their own constitutional form of making organic changes in their own State government. Only one State—Louisiana—in the entire South paid its own postage. The annual expense of carrying the mails in those States averaged annually about three and a half million of dollars more than the postage collected. This, however, was not assumed as one of the grounds of secession.

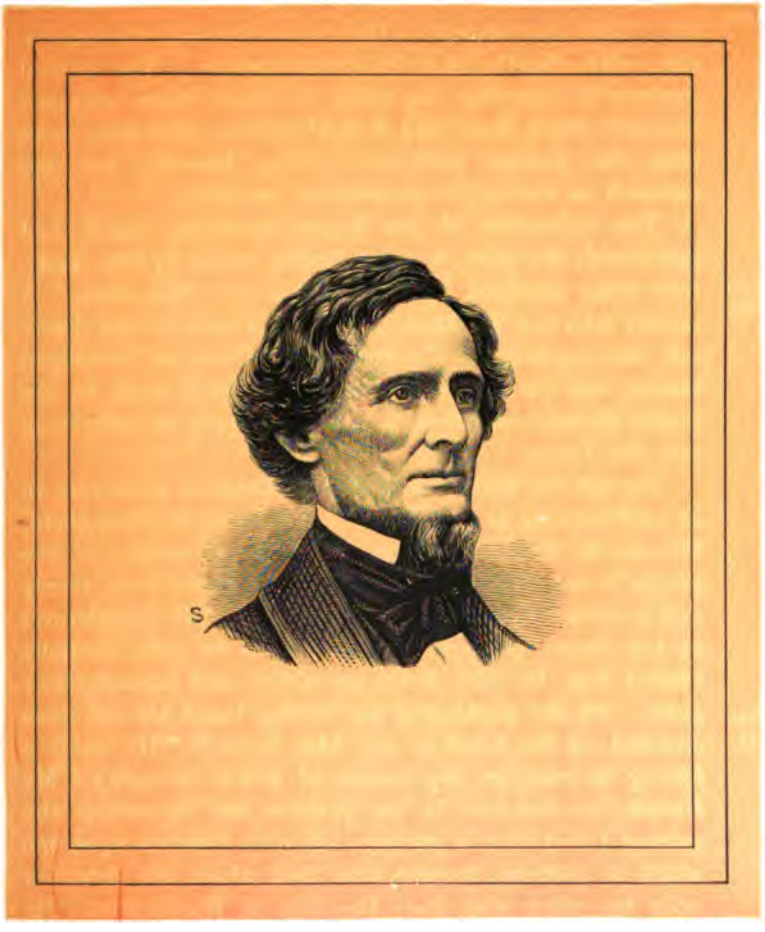
The difficulties of the Kansas question, which had lasted over five years, were at length ended by that Territory being admitted into the Union as a free State. A month later the Territories, Nevada, Colorado, and Dacotah, were organized. Congress by its silence on the subject leaving the question of slavery to be acted upon by the people themselves, when they should apply for admission into the Union.

Jan. 30.

Though the President elect had designed to journey in as quiet manner as possible from his home in Springfield, Illinois, to Washington, yet by the great anxiety of the people to see him he was induced to travel more slowly and to visit various places on the route. The Legislatures of the States through which he was to pass cordially invited him to visit their assemblies and become their guest. On the morning of his leaving home his neighbors crowded to the depot to bid him farewell. He made a feeling address, in the course of which he said: "My friends, no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence upon which at all times he relied. I feel that I can not succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him. I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that same Divine assistance, with which success is certain." He traveled slowly by special trains to Washington; at all stations, towns and cities, throngs of

Feb. 11.

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people welcomed him, showing an intense interest, for at no time previous had a Chief Magistrate entered upon his office in circumstances so perilous to the nation.

Feb. 4. Delegates from six of the seceded States assembled in Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, to frame a constitution for the Confederacy. They copied very closely that of the United States, only introducing articles in respect to slaves and slavery; sanctioning the idea of property in man, which idea Madison and the other fathers of the United States Constitution repudiated. The Constitution of the Confederate States in one article reads; "No bill of attainder, or *ex-post facto law*, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed." The convention established a provisional government and elected Jefferson Davis President, and A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. These were duly inaugurated, Davis making an address in which he assumed the right of the seceding States to take possession of the United States forts and property within their boundaries and settle for them afterward; that "the commercial world had an interest in our exports (meaning cotton) scarcely less than our own;" he suggested "the well known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy."—One of the most remarkable fallacies with which the disunion leaders deceived themselves was that England would aid them materially in order to obtain cotton for her factories. Though the governing classes in that country, with but few exceptions, gave the rebellion their sympathy, yet they were too politic to enter upon war to obtain cotton from these States when it could be had from other sources at a little greater expense. At this result the disappointment of the leaders of the Confederacy was beyond expression. On a par with this want of wisdom were their mistaken views of the character of the people of the free States. They seemed to forget that the industrial activity and energy which they had displayed in their onward progress would now be applied to putting down a rebellion.

Feb. 18.

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CHAPTER LVIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

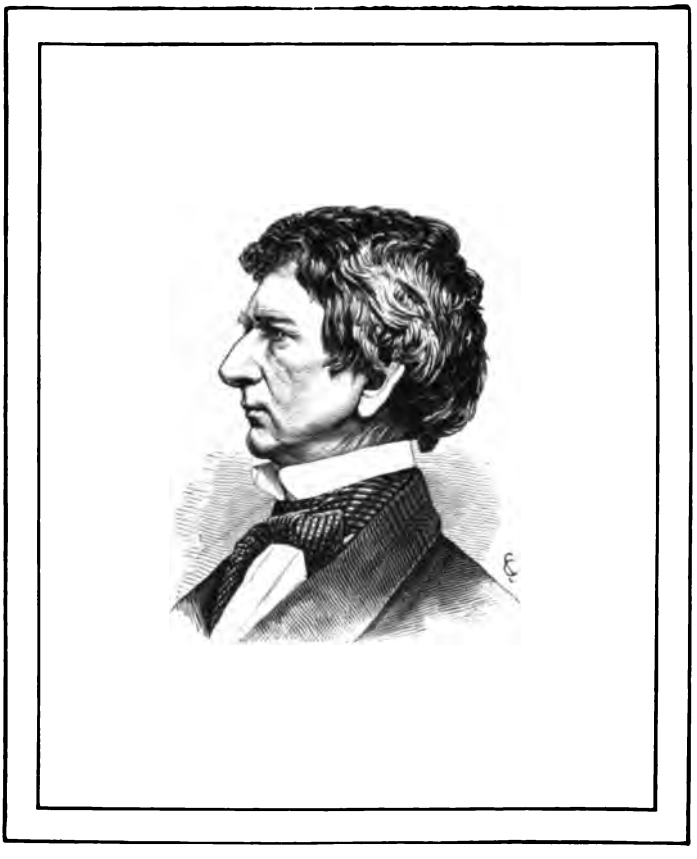
The Inauguration.—Effect of the Inaugural.—Bombardment of Sumter.—The President's Call for Volunteers.—The Responses.—Riot in Baltimore.—The Spirit of Loyalty.—Confederate Congress at Richmond.—Feeling in Missouri and Kentucky.—Advance into Virginia.—Col. Ellsworth's Death.—Proclamations of Generals.—Instructions to United States Ministers Abroad.—English Neutrality.—Big Bethel Skirmish.—West Virginia's Loyalty.—Enemy Driven Out.—Battle of Bull Run.—The Effect.—Missouri.—Battle of Wilson's Creek.—Death of General Lyon.—Kentucky's Legislation.—Finances and the Army.—Ball's Bluff Disaster.—Hatteras Expedition.—Mason and Slidell.—Battle of Belmont.—The Invasion of Kentucky.—Battle of Mill Spring.—Davis's Special Message.—Meeting of Congress.—The Union Army.—Edwin M. Stanton.—Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson.—Confederate Retreat.

CHAP. LVIII.

1861. Mar. 4.

THE day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration drew near; as it approached the painful suspense and anxiety of the people increased. Rumors were afloat of plots to prevent the new President from assuming office, and indeed of threatened injury to his person. The military were called out under the orders of General Scott; the first time in our history thought necessary to protect a Chief Magistrate from banded conspirators. In his inaugural the President announced that he should enforce the laws of the Union in accordance with his oath of office. "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts." Alluding to the secessionists, he says: "The

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William H. Seward

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government will not assail you; you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." His manner betokened a man cool and determined, but of kindly instincts, and one who fully appreciated the novelty of his situation. The inaugural gave universal satisfaction, except to those who, from their open or secret opposition to the government, would not approve its sentiments of loyalty. It strengthened the Union men of the South and created a very favorable impression in the Border States. But the secessionists proclaimed it was a war measure, and the Confederate government issued orders for the people to prepare for the conflict. The Southern newspapers more fully expressed the views of the disunion leaders. They urged immediate action; in the Border States they expressed opposition to "coercion"—a favorite term of those who wished to gain time for the inauguration of rebellion. Mr. Lincoln's principal cabinet officers were: William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of Navy.

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The Confederate government endeavored to "*coerce*" the Border States to join them, by prohibiting the importation of slaves into the Confederacy from the United States, "except by persons emigrating thereto for the purpose of settlement or residence." This was specially aimed at Virginia, for the sale of surplus negroes from that State to the Cotton States averaged annually several million dollars. This law would materially affect that portion of the State east of the mountains, where the slaves were numerous, but not the portion west, where there were but few, and where the people were almost universally in favor of preserving the integrity of the Union.

Mar. 11.

The Confederate authorities desired, by means of commissioners, to treat as an independent nation with the United States government; but as such they were not recognized.

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The inaugural gave encouragement to the Union sentiment in the Border States. Kentucky refused to call a State Convention; Tennessee, by a majority of 50,000, resolved to remain in the Union; North Carolina appeared to be more loyal than ever, and even Virginia began to show strong attachment to the old order of things, but her people were not permitted to have a voice in their own destiny.

From the inauguration onward for some weeks, Fort Sumter was the subject of much anxiety both South and North; the former with hopes it would be evacuated, the latter for the most part that it might be maintained, and its garrison reinforced, and above all that there should be no concessions to men with arms in their hands, setting the authority of the government at defiance. Mr. Lincoln, slow and cautious in judgment, determined that Sumter should not be evacuated but defended, and let the responsibility rest upon those who should make the attack. The United States Senate, then in session, was also opposed to the withdrawal of the garrison.

A similar scene occured in the harbor of Pensacola. Lieutenant Slemmer evacuated Fort McRae and passed over to Fort Pickens, which, by the almost superhuman exertions of his men and with aid of marines from the ships of war off the harbor, he fortified and held the enemy at defiance. During the night, boats with muffled oars brought him provisions and munitions and men, landing them safely on the island on which stood the Fort.

The government resolved to send provisions to Sumter; preparations for this purpose were made in the port of New York. At Charleston, General G. T. Beauregard, unmolested by Anderson, had been for weeks fortifying points on the harbor to prevent ships entering, and also to attack Sumter if not surrendered. President Lincoln sent a messenger to inform Governor Pickens of his intention of sending provisions to the garrison of Fort Sumter. The steward of the Fort had been warned a few days before

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that he would not be permitted to purchase fresh provisions in the Charleston market.

Beauregard telegraphed to Jefferson Davis, at Montgomery, the information received from President Lincoln. The rebel Cabinet was deeply agitated; should they take the awful responsibility of commencing civil war? After two days came a telegram directing Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort as soon as possible. The demand was made with the promise of facilities for transporting the troops and their private property. Major Anderson courteously refused to surrender his trust, incidentally remarking to the messengers—Beauregard's aids—that his provisions would last only for a few days. This refusal was telegraphed to Davis, and also the remark in respect to the provisions. Davis replied, saying: "If Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that in the meantime he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter, you are thus to avoid the effusion of blood." "If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort as your judgment deems to be most practicable." This was in substance communicated to Major Anderson, who replied, that unless he had orders from his Government or supplies he would evacuate by noon on the 15th inst. To this the "aids" answered, that fire would be opened upon Sumter in one hour from that time; the surrender was not wanted, except by inaugurating war,—thus "to fire the Southern Heart."

Apr. 8.

Apr. 11.

Apr. 12. 2.30 A. M.

Promptly at the time indicated, April 12th, 4.20 A.M., a mortar on Sullivan Island gave the signal. This was followed by one gun from each of five batteries and a floating iron-clad. After a pause of a few moments fifty guns in concert threw forth their solid shot and shell upon the devoted Sumter and its garrison of seventy men. No reply was made; the men were ordered out of danger; at six o'clock breakfast was served; the men were then detailed under their respective officers, with the intention

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of relieving each other from time to time. The first detail, under Captain Arthur Doubleday, fired the first gun at 7 A.M., then for nearly three hours solid shot had been pouring in, and shells were bursting every minute within the inclosure. The parapet guns, after a few rounds, were left, as the exposure was too great to man them. The men of the second and third details or reliefs refused to wait their turns, but insisted on joining in the fight; and so vigorous were the discharges from Sumter that the enemy thought the fort must have been reinforced. All were inspired with patriotic zeal; even some Irish laborers joined in with their native ardor for a fight. Presently one of the officers heard the report of a gun on the parapet; going to see, he found a company of the laborers amusing themselves in that exposed place by firing at the enemy. One of them exclaimed with great glee that he had hit the floating battery in the center. The soldiers characterized them as the "Irish Irregulars." During Friday night the mortar batteries kept up their fire to prevent the garrison making repairs, and at dawn all the guns opened. Now was fired red-hot balls, which set the barracks on fire, blew up one magazine and endangered another, so that to avoid further danger ninety barrels of powder were rolled into the sea. The heat and smoke became stifling, yet the brave fellows fought on breathing through wet cloths. For thirty-four hours had the bombardment lasted, when a boat was seen approaching from Fort Moultrie bearing a white flag. Negotiations began, and Anderson agreed to evacuate the fort. The troops were transferred to the *Baltic* steamer, which brought them to New York. No one of the Union soldiers nor of the enemy was killed in the conflict. Major Anderson from on board the steamer sent his report to Washington. After describing the ruin of the fort, he says in conclusion: "The troops marched out with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property, and saluting their flag with fifty guns."

Apr. 14.

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DEFENCE OF FORT SUMTER

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The firing on Fort Sumter fired the Northern heart. The insult to the flag and the nation had marvelous effect upon the minds of the people. By this act the secessionists had alienated more or less their most influential friends in the non-slaveholding States; could they have foretold the outburst of mingled sorrow and indignation that arose from all classes of persons, they would never have fired upon Fort Sumter without provocation. The hitherto sympathizers with the demands of the slave owners now, with but comparatively few exceptions, were as outspoken in condemnation of the act as those who had for years opposed those demands.

There was an indescribable feeling of emotion pervading the minds of all; one impulse seemed to move millions as one man; a quiet determination of purpose took possession of the people more powerful than if it had been demonstrative. The news of the attack and surrender had been sent to wherever the telegraph extended, and on the day—the Sabbath—the solemnity of the worshipers was deep and all-absorbing. Earnest prayers went up from the pulpits and were earnestly responded to from the congregations, for the Nation and for direction in this momentous crisis. This single act in a few short hours had made rival political partisans a band of brothers; prejudices melted away before the heat of an overwhelming love of country, as if they had never reflected upon its blessings, until the attempt was made to destroy its unity.

Apr. 15. On Monday morning came the President's proclamation calling for 75,000 men to serve for three months to enforce the laws which had been opposed "and their execution obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas."

An appeal was made to all loyal citizens to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of the National Union. Responses to this appeal came at once from the loyal States; volunteers were offered by thousands; especially prompt were the States of Pennsylvania, Massachu-

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setts, New York and Ohio. These anticipating this state of affairs had by legislative enactment placed their militia in a condition for prompt action.

From the governors of the slave States—Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas—came responses within a few days, all refusing to send their quotas of men, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee threatening to resist any attempt at "coercion" on the part of the National Government. This was more the sentiment of the individual governors of these States than of the majority of the people, as it was afterward shown. Every governor of the Border States was in favor of the secessionists except Governor Hicks, of Maryland. So deeply was the plot laid that at first the National authorities were taken at great disadvantage, the usual case with rebellions; the insurgents were prepared and therefore at first successful.

Never before in the free States was there such an exhibition of love of country. The people were intelligent and familiar with the merits of the question at issue—union or disunion—and acted accordingly. The flag—the symbol of a united Nation—became almost an idol; it floated from church steeples, from public buildings, from private houses, from mast heads; it decorated the shops and offices along the streets; the drayman put it on his horse and the engineer on his locomotive, while its beautiful colors were blended in rosettes and ribbons worn by matrons and maidens—all these manifestations told that the hearts of the people were with the government.

Pennsylvania, being the nearest, was the first to place men in Washington; six hundred of whom arrived there in four days after the call was issued. Massachusetts was really the first in the field in respect to readiness; her men were finely drilled and armed, and within twenty-four hours after the telegram brought the call for troops nearly every company of the four regiments called for were in Boston

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ready to march. The men left their workshops, stores and farms at a minute's warning.

Benjamin F. Butler was commissioned Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and ordered to Washington with two regiments, the Sixth and Eighth; the Third and Fourth were sent by sea in steamers to Fortress Monroe, thus securing that important place to the nation. The Sixth, in passing through Baltimore, was attacked by a mob in the interest of secession, and three of the men were killed—the first blood shed in the great rebellion. This was the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, April 19th, 1775, and the nation entered upon a second struggle as a prelude to a still greater career of humane and industrial progress, to a higher plane of a Christianized civilization. It took eight years of war to establish our independence, and it took four years of war to make us a united people, in the course of which was removed the greatest drawback to the whole nation's progress.

Apr. 19.

The spirit of loyalty in the free States continued to furnish men and means to sustain the cause. In less than a month more than $23,000,000 were given as a free offering to the Government, and volunteers far beyond the number called for.

Lieutenant Jones, in command at Harper's Ferry, learned that a force of about 2,000 Virginians were on their way to pillage the armory. As he had but fifty men, he prudently destroyed all the war material, blew up the magazine and withdrew to Carlisle, Pa. The following day the U. S. Navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk, was destroyed. Satisfactory reasons for this wanton destruction of property, amounting to many millions' worth, have never been given. The yard could have been defended with prompt action. About 2,000 cannon were thus furnished the disunionists, which they used during the whole war.

Apr. 19.

Threats were frequently made by newspapers and public men in the interest of the slave States that Washington would soon be in the hands of the insurgents. Their

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authorities made the most strenuous exertions to increase and organize an army. Jefferson Davis first called for 22,000 men, and soon again for 20,000 more. Their Congress met in called session, and resolved to remove their seat of government from Montgomery to Richmond, intending, no doubt, to "coerce" Virginia to pass an ordinance of secession, which the majority of the people of the State in an impartial vote would evidently oppose. Virginia's self-constituted authorities handed her over, and she was graciously received into the Confederacy by this Congress, just assembled at Richmond. But the people were promised the privilege of voting on this illegal ordinance of secession on the 23d instant; however, before that day came, all persons expressing Union sentiments were either driven out of the eastern portion of the State or compelled to hold their peace. Even the Mayor of Richmond, by proclamation, enjoined the people to inform him of any persons *suspected* of being Union in their sympathies (and Northern female teachers were advised by one of the newspapers not to talk). The election by the people was a farce.

May 6-23.

The portion of the State west of the Blue Ridge was almost free of slaves and could not be "dragooned" into secession; the people there understood the question, and did not choose to fight in the cause, hence they refused to answer the call for troops by Governor Letcher for the Southern confederacy; they also took measures to become separate from the Eastern portion, and in a short time formed a new State known as West Virginia, which as such in due time was admitted into the Union. The national government threw a protecting force into the new State under General George B. McClellan, and speedily West Virginia was as free from armed secessionists as old Virginia of Unionists.

June 11.

In Tennessee the people's vote was disregarded, though by a majority of 50,000 they had decided against secession, yet the legislature led by Isham G. Harris, the governor, in secret session adopted the Constitution of the Confederate

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States: Upon this act the people were invited to vote on the 8th of the next month. Meantime, as customary, a series of outrages were perpetrated on the Union men, to prevent their voting against the usurpation. Arkansas also by resolution of a Convention declared herself out of the Union. The Convention proceeded to pass laws by which all moneys due Northern creditors were to be paid into the treasury of the State. May 6.

The governor of Missouri—Claiborne F. Jackson—was a secessionist, and refused to furnish troops in response to President Lincoln's requisition. But the people themselves, under the leadership of Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, raised in two months nearly 10,000 men. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who was in command at St. Louis, suddenly surrounded a rebel camp—Fort Jackson—and captured every man. These had assembled under the pretence of preserving the peace of the State, and had been drilling for weeks; their arms having been secretly sent them from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, whence they had been taken from the United States Arsenal. Previous to this, the energetic Captain Lyon, under orders from Washington, had transferred the arms and war material from the arsenal at St. Louis to Springfield, Illinois. The German element in the population of St. Louis stood bravely for the Union in this crisis.

Kentucky hesitated. She wanted to be neutral, but that policy was soon seen to be impossible. Under the influence of John C. Breckenridge, her young men were, for the most part, in favor of aiding the disloyal States. Mass meetings were, however, held in different places, and the most influential men of middle life and upward came out in favor of the Union. Kentucky was only saved by the presence of nearly 20,000 volunteers from the free States over the Ohio river; in truth Maryland and Missouri were also saved to the Union by their nearness to the free States.

From the frequent reconnoisances and surveys made by the confederates it was evident they intended to fortify the

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heights of Arlington, of Georgetown and Alexandria, across the river from Washington; they had already occupied many points on the upper Potomac, ready to pass over into Maryland. The disunion leaders in the Cotton States had sent several thousand soldiers to this army now threatening the National Capital. These leaders had determined, as some of their papers indiscreetly stated, to make the border States, especially Virginia, the battle ground. They were willing to plunge the nation into war, but were anxious to have others suffer the consequences. Howell Cobb, the recent Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan, said in a speech: "The people of the Gulf States need have no apprehension; they might go on with their planting and their other business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theater would be along the borders of the Ohio river and in Virginia." In truth the Old Dominion was sadly desolated; for four years, over her soil army after army passed and repassed. The devastation was inaugurated by the Confederates themselves, lest any sustenance or shelter should be found for the Union soldiers.

General Scott anticipated the movements of the enemy by sending 10,000 troops in three divisions at 2 A. M. to seize the heights and fortify them. The Orange and Manassas railroad was seized, and on it a train having on board 300 Confederate soldiers, who were captured. Alexandria was also occupied. In this town over the "Marshall House" had floated for weeks a secession flag, which could be seen from the President's mansion, and to which it was given out the flag was designed as a taunt. Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, of the Zouaves, seeing the flag floating, determined to get possession of it. He ascended to the roof, pulled down the flag, and when descending was shot and instantly killed by the proprietor of the house, who a moment after was shot dead by a private soldier who had accompanied the Colonel. The death of young Ellsworth was felt throughout the land, as he possessed remarkable qualities as a commander and disciplinarian.

May 24.

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General Irwin McDowell, in command of the Union forces, issued a proclamation in which he enjoined all the officers to make "statements of the amount, kind and value of all private property taken or used for government purposes, and the damage done in any way to private property, that justice may be done alike to private citizens and government." This is given to show the conciliatory spirit of the National Government; these regulations were enforced. Beauregard, in command of the Confederates, a few days later issued a counter-proclamation to the Virginia people in which he said: "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints, has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and impressing your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated." It is due to the truth of history that these facts should be noticed, as it was by such gross misrepresentations the mass of the people of the South were deceived before and during the war.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, announced to our ministers abroad the policy of the Government in relation to foreign intervention. To Charles Francis Adams, at the British Court, he wrote: "You will make no admissions of weakness in our Constitution, or any apprehensions on the part of the Government." "You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromises by this Government under foreign auspices with its discontented citizens." To Mr. Dayton, Minister to France, he said: "The President neither expects nor desires any intervention, nor even any favor, from the government of France or any other in the emergency." "If several European States should combine in that intervention, the President and the people of the United States deem the Union, which would then be at stake, worth all the cost and all the sacrifice of a contest

May 11.

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with all the world in arms if such a contest should prove inevitable."

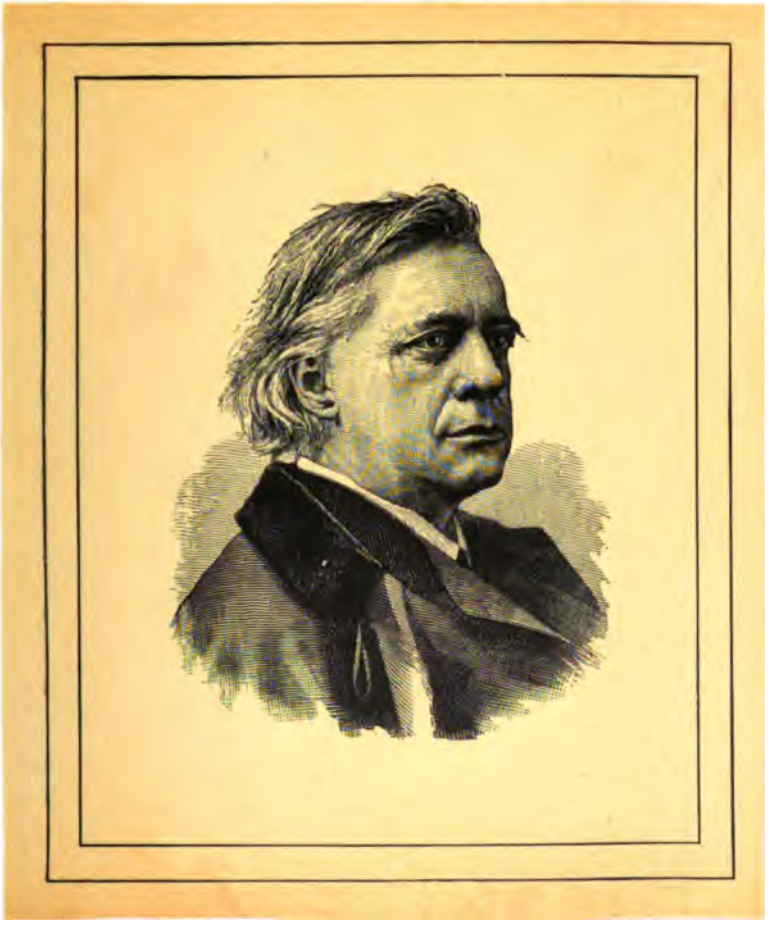
In respect to the blockade the Secretary wrote to Mr. Adams: "You say that by our own laws, and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from National ports, which have been seized by insurgents in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it is not maintained by a competent force; you will add that the blockade is now, and it will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain."

May 21.

The astonishment of the American people at the position taken by England almost equaled their indignation. For many years invectives without number were thrown upon them, especially those of the free States, by influential persons in England, because they did not take political measures to abolish slavery, and thus violate the compromises of the Constitution made in other days, when the moral, political and economical evils of the system were not so well known.

But now, when the slave States had entered upon a war to protect and extend slavery, they had, with few exceptions, the full sympathy of the ruling class of England. Swift sailing vessels and steamers, with little hindrance on the part of the government, were fitted out from her ports laden with munitions of war to aid the Rebellion. The Queen, or rather the government, issued a proclamation of professed neutrality, putting the Confederates on the same footing as the United States Government. The cotton manufacturers and the iron interests, representing many millions of money, and employing several hundred thousand operatives, were in favor of recognizing the Confederacy. The former of these were nearly ruined by the want of cotton, which was cut off by the blockade, and the latter by the loss of the American market, as the tariffs

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Henry Ward Beecher

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imposed to meet the extraordinary expenses incurred by the civil war had also given the American iron-masters reasons to extend their works, and they soon were able to supply the wants of the country.

General B. F. Butler was transferred from Baltimore to Fortress Monroe. The Confederates, under General Magruder, occupied prominent points commanding the approaches to Richmond, while Yorktown and Gloucester Point were also fortified. General Butler resolved, by a night movement, to surprise and capture two positions of the enemy in the vicinity—Little Bethel and Big Bethel. The latter the stronger, and under the immediate command of Magruder. The plan was well arranged, and the troops set out on their night march, in order to attack Little Bethel at daylight. But two of the regiments came into collision, by some mistake made in the darkness, and fired into each other till the mistake was discovered. This firing gave information to the enemy, and those in Little Bethel hastily retreated to the larger and better fortified position. Meantime, the other portion of the Federal troops hearing the firing, fell back, lest they should be taken in flank. In the morning the disappointed Federals came together; a conference was held, and it was rashly determined to attack Big Bethel, whose guns commanded the approach. The result was a repulse, as might have been expected, yet the soldiers, some of whom had only been under arms a few weeks, stood the fire well. Here fell two of the most accomplished men in the command—Lieutenant Greble, of the United States Artillery, and Theodore Winthrop, secretary and aid to General Butler.

May 10.

June 11.

An election held in West Virginia shows that the great majority of the people of that section were true and loyal to the National Government. A few days afterward a force was thrown across the Ohio at several points. This force made short work with the armed enemy of West Virginia; driving out both them and the troops sent to their aid by the Confederacy.

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General McClellan opened the campaign by issuing a proclamation, in which was promised protection to the lives and property of the Union men from the armed enemy who were preying upon them. Grafton, an important point at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway with that of Northwest Virginia, was occupied by the enemy, who, hearing of the advance, evacuated that place, after destroying, as far as possible, culverts and railway bridges. The next place was Philippi, where the enemy were routed and scattered in a spirited fight. they leaving all their munitions; they, however, made a strenuous but unsuccessful attempt to recover their lost ground. A great deal of leniency was shown to the disloyal portion of the inhabitants, which policy they but little appreciated. A Confederate force was concentrated at Rich Mountain; though strongly entrenched, General Rosecrans attacked them so vigorously that, under General Pegram, they retreated in the night in order to reach General Garnet's main force at Laurel Hill; but they became entangled in the woods, and food failing, six hundred of them surrendered as prisoners of war. When this was known, General Garnet rapidly retreated, throwing away his superfluous baggage. He passed along Cheat River, hoping by means of by-paths to reach the Valley of the Shenandoah. Though he impeded the pursuers by breaking down bridges and felling trees across the road, yet in spite of these obstructions the Union forces overtook him at Carrick's Ford. Garnet here made a stand to confront his indefatigable pursuers. He had taken a strong position on a hill whose base was densely covered by a jungle of laurel bushes; with him were 2,000 men, and a reserve of 3,000 men in the rear. Rosecrans made a demonstration in front at the Ford, while a portion of his men, by a flank movement, groped their way through the jungle and to the top of the hill, and with a shout rushed on the enemy, captured one of the guns commanding the Ford, and drove them before them. Garnet behaved with great bravery, but presently fell pierced by a rifle ball.

May 26.

June 11.

June 12.

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Then his men, panic-stricken, fled in confusion, and reaching the reserves in the rear, the panic was communicated to them and they also fled, only one regiment of Georgians making a short stand. These prisoners were treated with great kindness, clothed and fed, and unwisely permitted to simply take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government and then dismissed. Large numbers of these men, violating their oath, were soon found in the Confederate ranks. The rebel loss in these conflicts was about 1,500 killed, wounded and prisoners, while the Union loss was only 20 killed and 60 wounded.

July 22. General McClellan was relieved and ordered to Washington; General Rosecrans taking command of the Union forces in West Virginia.

Preparations were made for a general advance of the troops in the vicinity of Washington early in July. The troops under General Patterson on the Upper Potomac; those under McClellan—the extreme right—from West Virginia; and the forces under McDowell extending along the river opposite Washington; these all were to advance and gradually contract their lines around Richmond. The plan was General Scott's. General McDowell was to move direct upon Manassas Junction, on the railroad twenty-seven miles from Alexandria, an important strategic position held by the enemy. General Patterson had already moved from Chambersburg, Pa., and reached the Potomac and passed over, General Joe Johnston, in command of the Confederates in the Valley of the Shenandoah, falling back, after destroying what was left of the armory at Harper's Ferry and transferring the machinery to Richmond, there to be used in the service of the rebellion to the close of the war.

June 16.

Patterson also issued his proclamation, promising protection to loyal men and private property, and the troops were enjoined to suppress any insurrection of the slaves. Ruin was found along the pathway of the retreating Confederate army; it was they who inaugurated the system of desolating the country through which they passed, nor till

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the next year was any retaliation practiced by the Federal armies, and that but seldom.

Patterson had about 23,000 men, but he seemed to act without a fixed purpose or design; for some unexplained reason he recrossed the Potomac and fell back to Hagerstown, he said in consequence of orders from Washington, and the enemy returned to the south side of the river. Then again he crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, and appeared to hesitate, taking no responsibility. The campaign seemed aimless. The enemy now fell back beyond Martinsburg toward Winchester, where Johnston was said to have an army of 15,000 men well supplied with artillery. Patterson occupied Martinsburg. His orders were to press Johnston and prevent his reinforcing Beauregard at Manassas; but he hesitated, and soon it was discovered that Johnston and his whole army had marched southward, yet he lingered till he heard of the disaster at Bull Run. The Government should have put in command of these troops a regularly educated military officer, and not have risked so much by entrusting them to incompetent hands.

June 18.

July 2.

July 20.

Meantime the Union troops were moving toward Manassas Junction, the enemy making but little resistance and falling back till they made a stand at Blackburn's Ford at Bull Run Creek, which they strongly fortified. McDowell resolved to turn the enemy's position and reach the Manassas Gap Railway, and thus intercept reinforcements from Winchester, as he fully expected Patterson to hold Johnston in check so that he could not bring aid to Beauregard.

McDowell made his arrangements to flank the enemy by crossing the creek at other fords. Parties sent out to reconnoitre on Saturday reported they had heard steam-whistles and the distant rumblings of railroad trains. It was learned after the battle that these trains had brought a portion of Johnston's forces.

July 21.

The various divisions of the Union army, but not in perfect concert, advanced to cross the fords. Owing to

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want of discipline some of these divisions were behind the time appointed—daylight—to cross the fords nearly three hours. Of this want of concert the enemy availed themselves. They soon discovered the attack in front was a feint, and from that point they withdrew large detachments to be used elsewhere. The contest was a brave one on both sides, but desultory in the extreme, as might be expected from inexperienced men, nine-tenths of whom were going into battle for the first time. In different parts of the field the Confederates were driven from time to time and would recover; batteries of cannon changed hands more than once. Finally the Federals drove the enemy nearly two miles, and deemed the victory won. The Union troops had been in motion from 2 A.M., and had been fighting from ten o'clock, and at 3 P.M., were resting when they were surprised and suddenly attacked by about 5,000 troops fresh from a train from Winchester. At this crisis the other Confederates, thus encouraged, renewed the conflict with vigor. The Union forces were thrown into confusion and retreated in disorder, and being undisciplined could not be as a whole effectually rallied. Yet individual regiments one after another stood in the way and fought gallantly, retarding the advance of the enemy till the stragglers could retire to the rear. While the soldiers of both armies were inexperienced and but partially disciplined, they fought worthy of their fathers. The Union forces lost 481 killed and 1,011 wounded, the Confederates 296 killed and 1,533 wounded. This success of the insurgents made known to the people of the free States that the rebellion could only be put down by hard fighting. "Beauregard's victory at Manassas Junction inspired the Confederates with such confidence that they had not doubted for a single instant but that the North had received a mortal blow." "But a few men, such as General Lee and General Joe Johnston and others, alone recognized the vital importance of the struggle in which they were engaged, and they

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ceased not to warn the Southern people against their foolish imprudence.[1]

Missouri being a Border State, the people were much divided, but the majority were in favor of the union, especially might this be said of the entire German population. Governor Jackson had fled from the capital at Jefferson City after issuing a flaming proclamation calling for June 13. 50,000 men to repel the invaders, meaning the U. S. troops under Captain Lyon. The Governor had slipped off up the river with steamers laden with the State ordnance. The energetic Lyon went in pursuit in steamers the same evening, and sent troops by land in the same direction to seize railroads and protect bridges and to intercept the fugitive governor and his adherents, the main body moving to Rolla, the then terminus of the South Pacific railway.

Lyon first stopped at the capital and installed a Military Governor, Colonel Boernstein, then with three steamers, on board of which were troops and field artillery, he continued the pursuit, landing near Booneville, a few miles below where Jackson and Sterling Price, a former governor of the State, had made an entrenched camp, and had a motley crowd, composed largely of the *outside voters* we have seen in the Kansas difficulties. After landing Lyon marched at once to assault the camp, but met the enemy on their way to oppose his landing; he immediately attacked them and after a few minutes they fled, taking refuge in their camp; this they also soon abandoned, scattering in all directions. About 40 of them were killed and great June 17. numbers made prisoners. Jackson and Price both fled toward the South, where they expected to join troops from Arkansas and Texas under General Rains and the famous Texan ranger, Ben McCullough.

Lyon was sadly in want of reinforcements, but as all the troops were at that time sent to protect Washington, he was compelled to pursue the enemy with insufficient force.

[1] Childe's Life of Lee, p. 60.

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He sent forward Colonel Franz Sigel, who soon arrived at Springfield, in the south-western portion of the State; thence he advanced rapidly toward Carthage, to find all the insurgents united under Jackson, Price, and other chiefs. Though the enemy numbered 5,500 and a battery of five guns, and Sigel's force only 1,500 men and eight guns, two of which were twelve pounders, yet he did not hesitate to attack. He found them drawn up on a rising ground on the prairie; that morning they expected, as they expressed it, "to wipe out the Dutch hirelings." The battle commenced and the centre guns of the enemy were soon silenced, and they pulled down the secession flag and raised that of the State; upon this Sigel's men were unwilling to fire. Presently the rebel cavalry, being very numerous, began to outflank the Unionists and Sigel fell back to protect his train. He held the enemy in check, pouring in at the proper moment "a shower of canister and shrapnel shell" until he reached Springfield, in spite of the numerous force around him. The next day the insurgents were reinforced by about 5,000 Texans under Ben McCullough. Five days after the battle General Lyon arrived at Springfield, which place the enemy almost surrounded.

The Missouri State Convention, largely composed of Union men, took action by electing provisional State officers. The people of the State respected the authority of the convention. July 20.

General Lyon ascertained that the enemy, 23,000 strong, were concentrating at Wilson's Creek ten miles south of Springfield, and were preparing some onward movement. He resolved to anticipate them. The entire Federal force marched from their entrenchments at Springfield in two divisions—the one under Lyon, the other under Sigel—to surprise the enemy before they made their advance. Lyon was to attack the front at daylight, and Sigel the rear at the same time Both were prompt, and one of the fiercest battles thus far began; in front the enemy were driven from the field. Lyon greatly exposed himself and was wounded Aug 9-10

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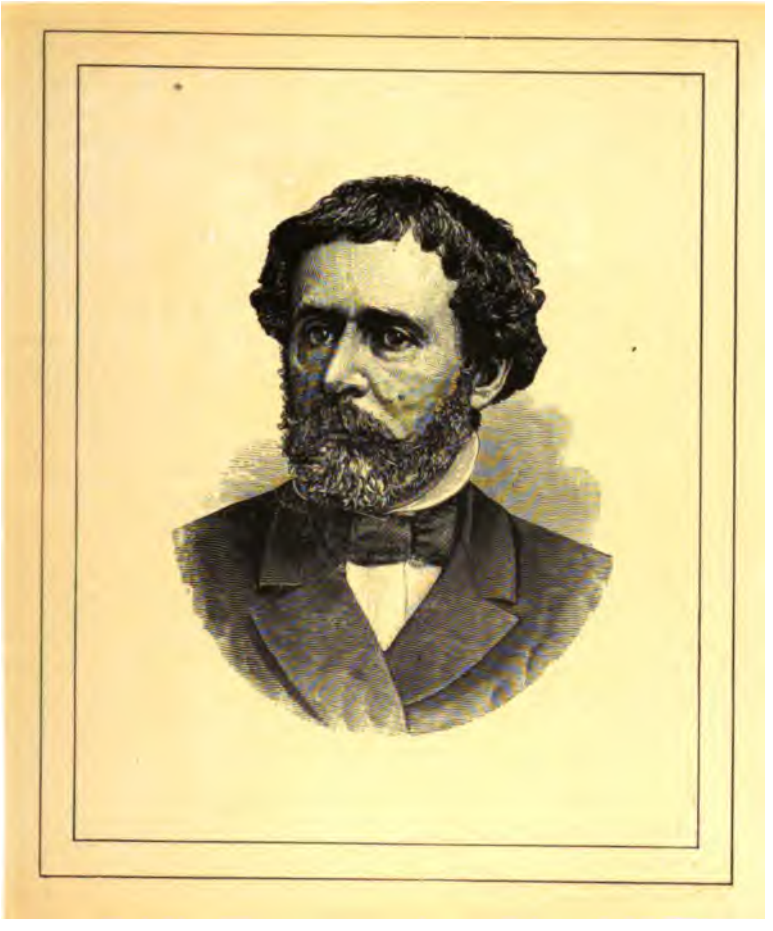
CHAP. LVIII. 1861.

twice. The enemy rallied and made a desperate effort to regain what they had lost but were most severely repulsed by the cool determination of the Iowans, who lying close on the brow of a hill let their foe come within 40 feet before firing upon them. They recoiled in confusion and finally fell back down the hill. It was seen that they were about to make another attempt, and Lyon desired his men to charge bayonets as soon as they had discharged their pieces. "Who will lead us?" exclaimed the men. "I will myself," said the general. "Come on, my brave men." The enemy came up but only fired and did not wait for the bayonet charge but fled down the hill. General Lyon was killed by this discharge. He was universally regretted, being one of the most accomplished officers in the United States Army. Meantime General Sigel was also successful in driving the enemy before him, but was at length greatly outnumbered by encountering a large force in his front and compelled to retreat, losing five cannons, three of which the soldiers spiked. This was a drawn battle. The Union army lost 263 killed and 721 wounded; the rebels, 421 killed and more than a thousand wounded. The Union army under Major Sturgis fell back to Springfield, and finally to Rolla, the terminus of the railway, holding the enemy at bay, who now overran Southern Missouri, driving the Union men from their homes and pillaging the people generally. General J. C. Fremont assumed command in Missouri about the last of July.

The rebels pushed their line of devastation up to Lexington on the Missouri River. This place was defended in the most heroic manner by Colonel Mulligan and his "Irish Brigade"—of 2,640 men,—but finally, when the enemy increased to nearly 20,000, he surrendered. This was but a barren victory, as the enemy were compelled to retreat rapidly toward the south, pursued by Fremont, who, after commencing the fortification of St. Louis, and organizing the forces already in the State and those collected at his call from other States, had taken the field (Sept. 26) himself.

Oct. 16.

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J. B. Fremont

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Fremont was crippled for want of transportation, arms, clothing, and men. Yet, at a critical moment came to him an order from the Secretary of War and General Scott "to send 5,000 well-armed infantry to Washington without a moment's delay." Fremont, too, had issued a proclamation, in which he had declared the State under martial law; threatening, among the penalties, the freedom of the insurgents' slaves. The latter clause offended those of the Union men who owned slaves, and at the suggestion of President Lincoln he modified that clause to read, "all slaves who have been employed on rebel military works." But it raised a clamor among the politicians that did not cease till Fremont was superseded, when General Halleck assumed command of the "Department of the West."

Nov. 12.

Fremont's career at the West was brief—only one hundred days; but, being a man of military instincts and training, he showed in that time a sagacity which was not allowed fair practical development. In that brief time he was the first to suggest and inaugurate the following practices, then widely decried, but without which the war would not have been successfully concluded: the free use of cavalry (strongly opposed by General Scott and others); exchange of prisoners with the enemy; fortification of large cities, to allow armies to take the field; building of river gun-boats for interior operations at the West; and, the emancipation of the slaves. In short, he contributed more than is generally credited to him.

Sept. 10.

After the Union disaster at Bull Run the Confederates endeavored to regain West Virginia; sending a large force under Henry A. Wise and John B. Floyd. The latter was defeated by Rosecrans at Carnifex Ferry on Gauley River, but under favor of darkness fled, his men leaving all their munitions except what they could carry. General Robert E. Lee was sent with 9,000 men to drive the Federals from Cheat Mountain, but after several conflicts he was defeated and compelled to retreat east.

Sept. 4.

Kentucky in a recent election for Members of Congress

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CHAP. LVIII. 1861. July 1. had shown herself loyal by a majority of 55,000; though her Governor, MacGoffin, was a secessionist, and so was General Buckner, the commander of the State Guards. The latter, treacherously betraying his trust, went over to the support of the rebellion. John C. Breckenridge, who was in the United States Senate, and so much exercised because President Lincoln, as he argued, had violated the Constitution in calling out the 75,000 men to enforce the laws, threw all his influence in favor of the enemy, thus more than usual corrupting the loyalty of the young men of the State.

Sept. 3. The Legislature met and passed laws over the Governor's veto to furnish money to arm the State against invasion on either side, and preserve her neutrality; that phantom soon vanished. A hostile force advanced from Tennessee, and taking possession fortified two points on the Ohio river—Hickman and Chalk Bluffs. On the same day General Zollicoffer, with an army occupied Cumberland Gap, in the eastern part of the State, intending thereby to cut off the Union men of East Tennessee from aid either from Kentucky or the Federal army. This concerted movement made it plain to the most obtuse that the Confederates, as had been their selfish plan, were, in order to save the "Cotton States," about to make the Border States the battle-field.

General U. S. Grant, who was in command at Cairo, Ill., at the mouth of the Ohio, immediately telegraphed the fact of the rebel invasion to the Kentucky Legislature, then in session. That body at once passed a resolution inviting General Robert Anderson, of Sumter memory, to enter upon his duties in the "Department of Kentucky," to which he had been assigned by President Lincoln. Thus far there were no United States troops stationed in the State, and the only soldiers were enlisted Kentuckians.

Sept. 6. Grant did not wait for orders, but at once passed over into Kentucky, landing at Paducah; issuing a proclamation, as was the custom in those days, to the effect that he

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had come to protect the people and aid them in driving the hostile invaders from the State. CHAP. LVIII.

General Anderson assumed command, and the Legislature called out "for defense against the invaders" 40,000 men, and by law disfranchised those Kentuckians who had voluntarily joined the enemy if they did not return to their allegiance to the State. The neutrality of Kentucky was at an end. 1861. Sept. 20.

The disaster at Bull Run rendered the people of the free States intensely anxious; fears were entertained of a rapid advance on Washington itself. That such an advance was not made is due to the opposition of Jefferson Davis, who thought the measure premature. At this crisis the terms of the first men called out were about to expire, and now a call was made for men to serve three years. The new rousing of the patriotism of the loyal North was sublime: regiments came into existence as if raised by magic; even the sympathizers with the rebellion cowered before the enthusiasm and determination evoked to repel the advance of the insurgents; yet they continued to the end to disparage every loyal victory and exaggerate every defeat.

Congress was equal to the emergency; they passed a bill authorising the enlisting of 500,000 men and appropriated 500,000,000 dollars, to carry on the war. They also passed an act confiscating all slaves used by the rebels for military purposes; all slaves within the Federal lines were to be employed upon the works and paid as day laborers. General Butler had applied the term "Contraband of war" to the slaves escaping from their masters to his army at Fortress Monroe; although orders had been issued that such runaways should be restored, he delayed to comply with the order. Great care was taken by the National Government to conciliate the slave owners, but without success. Aug. 2.

Gen. McClellan entered upon his duties with commendable zeal; Washington was fortified thoroughly, there being no less than *thirty-two* forts constructed at different points Aug. 1.

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CHAP. LVIII. and garrisoned. But his great work was to bring order out of disorder, to discipline the numerous new soldiers that had crowded by steamboat and railway to the capital. This great work he was fully competent to perform, and it was as fully accomplished. By the middle of October he had 150,000 men under his immediate command. No advances were made, except reconnoitering expeditions to ascertain the positions of the enemy and their designs.

1861. Oct. 15.

The Confederates, under General Evans, made a feint of evacuating Leesburg, in order to draw some one of these reconnoitering parties into an ambuscade. General Stone was in command in that vicinity. He ordered Colonel Baker to cross the Potomac and try the enemy, for it was well known that Leesburg was well fortified. The crossing was made, but the enemy remained quiet until the Federals were within their power. Then occurred a terrific battle and slaughter, compared with the numbers engaged—and Ball's Bluff disaster is the saddest of the war. General Stone sent an order to Colonel Baker warning him of danger, as the enemy were reported to be in strong force. This order was given to Baker on the battle-field, who asked the bearer what it was. The answer was, "All right, go ahead." Colonel Baker put the order in his hat without reading it, and went "ahead" straight into the trap laid for him by the cunning enemy. After the battle the order was found in the colonel's hat, stained with his own blood.

Oct. 21.

Lieutenant-General Scott asked to be placed on the retired list, on account of his age and infirmities. This request was granted. The President and his Cabinet going to the general's quarters to respectfully bid him farewell as commander-in-chief of the armies of the Republic. General McClellan was appointed to succeed him, and he at once assumed command.

Oct 21.

A combined naval and land expedition was planned at Fortress Monroe, where the veteran General Wool was now in command—Butler having been relieved and ordered to active duty. A fleet of three frigates, fifty guns each, and

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four vessels of smaller size, besides transports and tug-boats to carry the land force. No person knew the destination, except a few of the officers, till the expedition was fully out at sea. The fleet was under Commodore Stringham, and the land forces under General Butler. The object was to capture and hold the two forts—Hatteras and Clark—at the entrance of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, in order to break up the contraband trade by which English blockade runners supplied the insurgents with munitions of war, in exchange for tar, turpentine and cotton.

Fort Hatteras was a very strong battery, nearly surrounded by water; Fort Clark, 700 yards distant, was not as strong. Almost on their arrival the frigates opened on the forts, while the transports landed their men some four miles distant. Hatteras replied with spirit, but wildly, and the Union frigates poured in their solid shot and shell, literally tearing the fort to pieces. Toward evening a storm arose and the vessels were forced to withdraw to the offing; in the morning the weather was clear and the frigates opened again upon Fort Hatteras. Meantime, the land forces occupied Fort Clark, which the enemy had abandoned. At 11 A.M., a white flag was run up on Fort Hatteras; both forts were unconditionally surrendered. More than 600 prisoners were taken, while not a Union soldier was injured. For a number of days the men amused themselves in capturing English blockade runners, who, not having learned of the capture, entered the inlet as usual. The blockade was enforced as much as possible along the coast, with its multitude of inlets and harbors, some of which had one or two entrances.

Aug. 29.

Two months later a similar expedition set out from Fortress Monroe. Commodore Dupont commanded the navy, and General Thomas W. Sherman the land forces. This expedition consisted of seventy-seven vessels, of all classes—steamers and sailers, steam-tugs, and ocean steamers as transports, and fifteen gunboats and one steam frigate, the *Wabash*. Among the great ocean steamers was

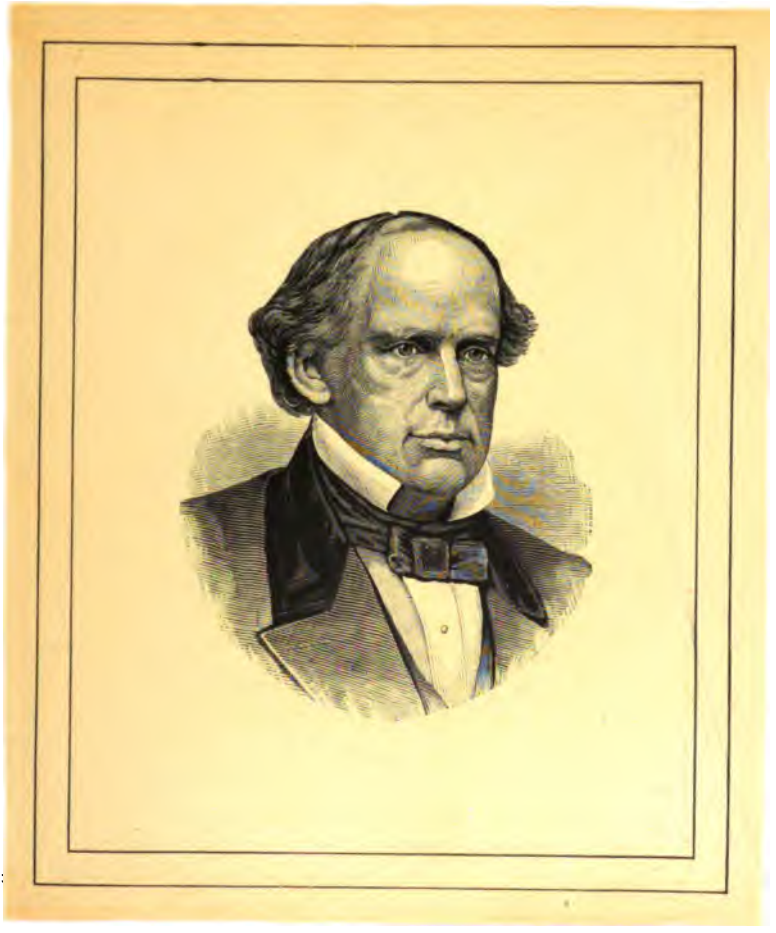
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CHAP. LVIII. 1861. Oct. 29. Nov. 7.

the *Vanderbilt*, afterward presented to the Government by Cornelius Vanderbilt. These vessels were nearly all volunteers—the ship-owners were not behind in their sacrifices for the cause. The whole expedition moved from Fortress Monroe; its destination was not generally known till it arrived off Port Royal, South Carolina, the finest harbor on the South Atlantic coast. After some unavoidable delays the gunboats and the *Wabash* were ready for the bombardment of the forts on each side of the channel. The vessels moved in an ellipse. As they passed up the stream they poured in a deadly fire of solid shot and shell on the forts on one side of the channel, then as they returned paid their respects to the forts on the other side; the most prominent, Hilton Head, was deemed invulnerable. The vessels thus moving passed in and out of the range of the rebel guns. The *Wabash* came within six hundred yards of Hilton Head, while the gunboats of smaller draft came close in shore and enfiladed the enemy's works. The Confederates could not stand the storm, but leaving everything fled to the woods. The bombardment lasted four hours. The Federals captured about forty pieces of ordnance, mostly of the heaviest caliber and of the most approved patterns, and an immense quantity of ammunition. The village of Beaufort was occupied. It was made the hospital headquarters during the war for that section, and a resting-place for the sick soldiers, weakened so much by the debilitating influence of the climate. After the capture of Hilton Head and the adjacent islands the enemy began to burn the cotton, lest it should fall into the hands of the Union soldiers. The whole heavens were lighted up night after night by the raging fires.

The unanimity with which the people of the free States responded to the calls of the Government, both for men and money, was truly marvelous. From April 15, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was issued, to August 15th, more than 500,000 volunteers had answered to these calls. Of these 375,000 were actually in the field. The

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Government, from the first, determined to depend upon the people themselves, not only for soldiers, but for the means to defray the expenses of the war. In strictness there was not a *mercenary* in the Union armies; there were those of foreign birth, but they were either citizens by adoption and oath of allegiance, or had declared, according to law, their intention to become citizens; they received pay for their services, which was just and proper. When the call for money was made, the banks of the principal cities immediately loaned the government fifty million dollars. Then the appeal was made to the people at large, who could subscribe in small sums according to their ability. The rapidity with which this loan was taken proved the earnest loyalty as well as the intelligence of the people of the free States. The interest on this loan was at the rate of seven and three-tenths per cent., or two cents a day on $100. To raise more revenue a heavy tariff was imposed on foreign merchandise and manufactures. The result was great development in the manufacturing industries of the land, and an abundance of employment given to those of moderate means, whose only capital was their skill and hands. Never before did they move so energetically in their industrial pursuits.

CHAP. LVIII. 1861.

On a dark and stormy night one of the English blockade runners, the steamer *Theodora*, slipped out of Charleston harbor, having on board John M. Mason of Virginia, author of the fugitive slave law of 1850, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, as special envoys to Great Britain and France. They were landed at Cardenas, Cuba; thence made their way to Havana, where they went aboard the English mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes of the United States steam sloop of war *San Jacinto*, and who, when a lieutenant, had commanded a voyage of scientific discovery round the world, overhauled the *Trent* and demanded the envoys, who were delivered up to him. Captain Wilkes called at Fortress Monroe, sent his dispatches to Washington, and then steamed for New York, where he received orders to send the envoys to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, at which

Nov. 8.

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CHAP. LVIII. 1861.

place they were delivered. The news of this capture caused unprecedented excitement throughout the land. The people, with the greatest enthusiasm, approved the action of Captain Wilkes. But the absorbing question arose, what will be the result? Captain Wilkes justified himself, showing his authority from writers on international law, but more from English precedent. It was well known that our war with England in 1812 arose in part from the fact that English cruisers assumed the right to board neutral ships on the high seas and search them for articles contraband of war. Wilkes deemed the envoys contraband. The United States Government had always denied the right, and fought to maintain its opposite. The British Government, in courteous terms, due to the influence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, who both sympathized with the North in the rebellion, demanded the release of the envoys. They were returned more in accordance with the American idea that it was wrong to seize neutral vessels on the high seas than from precedent derived from British custom. Indeed before the demand came the matter had been amicably arranged between Lord Lyons, the British Minister, and Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. As Captain Wilkes, who was on his return from a three years' cruise, had arrested these men without orders, the act was disavowed, and no cause of war remained. Meantime great excitement prevailed in England. War preparations were made in great haste, and troops were sent to Canada. The disappointment of the Confederate authorities was almost unbounded. They had hoped it would lead at least to a collision with England, and perhaps to their material aid. King Cotton had already failed them, and now they were to derive no benefit from the capture of the envoys.

The enemy under Bishop Leonidas Polk, who had been made a Major-General, held a strongly fortified position at Columbus, Kentucky; on the other side of the river, at Belmont in Missouri, was a well fortified camp. General Grant, then at Cairo, resolved to break up the latter, as

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from there expeditions could be easily sent into Missouri or up or down the river. With about 3,000 men aboard steamers and escorted by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, the Union soldiers landed four miles above Belmont and at once took up their march toward the encampment. In about a mile they fell in with the enemy and drove them "foot by foot and from tree to tree back to their encampment on the river's bank, a distance of over two miles;" as they drew near, suddenly was heard firing and cheers on the rear of the enemy. The Illinoisians, under Colonel Napoleon B. Buford, had made a detour rapidly and were now closing in; a combined movement was made upon three sides of the enemy's works, which were soon in possession of the Union forces; "The rebels passing over the river bank and into their transports in quick time." The object was accomplished; Grant destroyed all the munitions and property of the camp, and then fell back to his transports. Meantime Polk had sent troops to attack the Federals on their way back but without success. Bishop Polk reported; "It was a hard fought battle lasting from half past ten A.M. to five P.M;" he judged Grant's force to be 7,000 strong. The Federals lost 84 killed and 288 wounded; the enemy's loss was never accurately known.

The enemy had taken possession of Cumberland Gap to prevent the Unionists of East Tennessee from being aided by United States troops. The Union men of that section displayed the most heroic patriotism of any portion of the country; and the Confederate authorities thought it of the highest importance to prevent that section being occupied by Union forces, lest they should cut in twain "The Empire of the South." General William T. Sherman, who had succeeded Anderson in Kentucky, was of the same opinion, but the authorities at Washington seemed to think otherwise. If that point had been occupied in force, communication with Cincinnati and the North could have been kept open. The persecutions and outrages inflicted upon the

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CHAP. LVIII. Union men were fiercer in East Tennessee than in any portion East of the Mississippi.

1861. Nov. 15. General Buell assumed command in Kentucky, and he withdrew the Union troops from the eastern portion of the State as a large rebel force was reported to be in the vicinity of Bowling Green, an important and strategic point, and that their intention was to move North and capture Louisville, and a strenous effort must be made to drive them from the State. The Union men of the State turned out nobly in aid of the cause more than 18,000 who never flinched in in battle; and yet the State had furnished many thousands of misguided young men to the very army which was now invading and foraging in their native State. In the eastern portion of the State a series of skirmishes had taken place in which the enemy, often worsted, were driven from point to point, but finally they concentrated under General Zollicoffer, and made an attack on the Union forces under General Thomas at Logan's farm—this battle is known as that of Mill Spring, though that was eight miles distant.

Jan. 17. General Thomas had made his arrangements to attack the Confederates in their intrenchments; but they themselves had thought to attack Thomas in a similar manner. They, accordingly, left their entrenchments after dark on a Saturday night, and the next morning at seven o'clock drove in the Federal pickets. Word was speedily given that the enemy were in force, and in less than half an hour the Union soldiers were in line of battle, a detachment, meanwhile, holding the foe in check. The conflict was severe, and the lines wavered back and forth for hours. The Confederates had protected themselves by an extemporized bulwark of fence rails and a barn. Between them and the woods where the Federal soldiers were, was an open field. Colonel McCook determined to capture these defenses, and he ordered the Ninth Ohio, Germans, to fix bayonets; then moving along the front, he shouted, "My invincible Germans, charge!" A moment afterward the whole regiment was in the open field, and with shouts rushed upon the

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enemy, who lingered for a moment as if bewildered, and then fled. The Union troops with cheers advanced the whole line, and their defeat was complete; nor did they stop till they reached their entrenchments, eight miles distant. The Union forces pushed on, and late in the afternoon commenced a sharp cannonade. Night came on, and Thomas made preparation to assault in the morning. At daylight the ramparts were scaled, but not a man was to be seen. The night before the enemy had fled silently, leaving everything in their camp, lest the noise of destroying their munitions should betray their design. Their commander, General Zollicoffer, had been killed, and they were completely demoralized and abandoned all their fortifications in that region.

The way was now open to occupy Cumberland and Pound Gaps, and an entrance into East Tennessee, so much dreaded by the Confederate authorities; but General Thomas was ordered to coöperate with the Federal advance toward Bowling Green and Nashville.

Jefferson Davis sent in a special message to the Confederate Congress. This document was evidently designed to produce a certain effect, especially in England and France, to whose courts he had just sent the two envoys. Every conflict thus far had resulted in a glorious victory for the rebels; not a word was said of the progress of the Federal cause in Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia; not a word of the capture of Hatteras, or Hilton Head, or Beaufort. The cotton-spinners of England were kindly admonished that the blockade might diminish the supply of that article. He proclaimed that the financial system adopted had worked well, when the general impression was that "their National Loan and the Cotton and Produce Loan" were failures.

Nov. 18.

The question of the slave came more directly than usual before Congress on its assembling. A change was in progress among thinking minds in the free States in respect to his position in this contest. He was used by the nation's

Dec. 2.

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CHAP. LVIII. 1862.

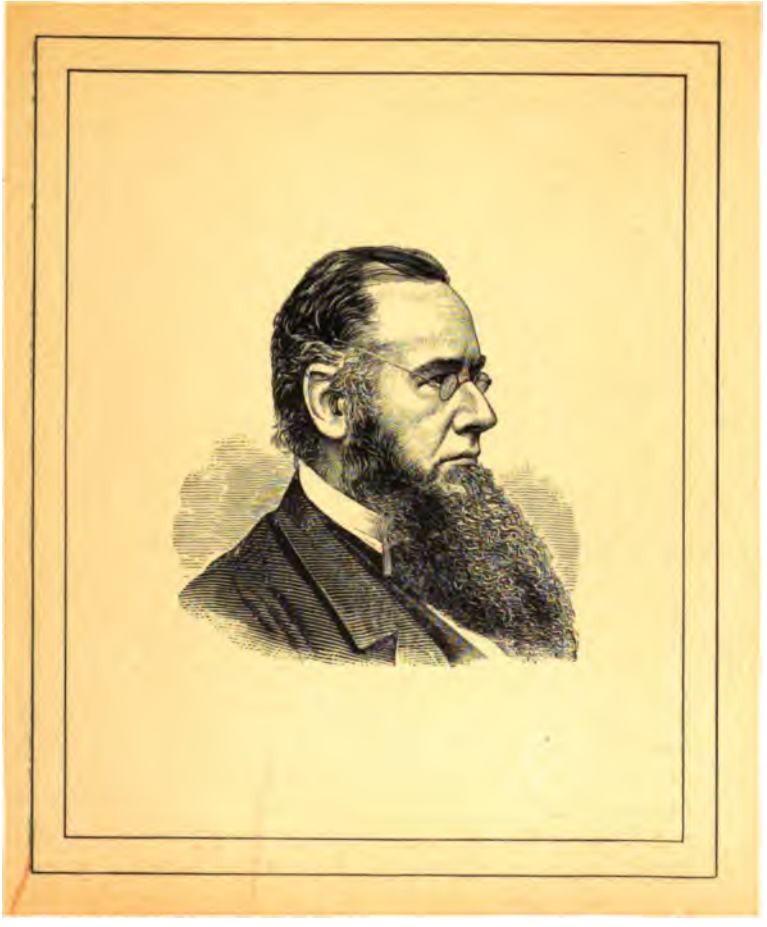
enemies to build fortifications, to raise corn and cotton, to support and protect the families of those who were in the armies of the rebellion. He had been happily characterized as a "contraband" of war; yet commanders in the field had usually treated him as a slave, and in some instances, when a fugitive in the Union army, he had been restored to his master when the latter was disloyal. The annual report of the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, favored negro emancipation, and remuneration to the loyal slave owners.

The same report stated that the total number in the army was: infantry, 568,383; cavalry, 59,398; artillery, 24,686; rifles and sharpshooters, 8,395; engineers, 107. In the aggregate, 660,971, of which 20,334 were of the regular army. The rebel army numbered about 350,000 men. There is no data for an accurate estimate, as they usually exaggerated their numbers before a battle and depreciated them afterward.

Around Washington an army of about 200,000 was drilling during the summer and the entire autumn, and no doubt was as well disciplined as any such body of men could be. The people became impatient that this numerous and well appointed army should lie idle so long; and the soldiers themselves became equally impatient. The roads were in perfect order for an advance on the enemy, and the weather all that could be wished. The enemy were almost in sight, flaunting their flags and holding their entrenchments, while their newspapers sneered at the want of energy in the Union commander. In other portions of the country the Union generals made advances and were successful in West Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, but "All is quiet on the Potomac" had passed into a proverb. The enemy went deliberately into winter quarters in the vicinity of Centreville and along the upper Potomac. The people began to feel there was something mysterious in this delay.

Jan. 15. The President appointed Edwin M. Stanton Secretary of War in place of Mr. Cameron, resigned. The new Secretary, by his untiring energy and intense loyalty, was most

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Edwin M. Stanton

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efficient in promoting the Union cause; stern and inflexible in character, obedient only to the dictates of duty. CHAP. LVIII. 1862.

It was planned, when the stage of water in the Tennessee and the Cumberland would admit of the free passage of the gunboats, to penetrate the Confederacy along these rivers, and thus turn the strongholds of the enemy at Columbus, on the Mississippi, and at Bowling Green, in Southern Kentucky. Captain A. H. Foote had been detailed from the United States Navy to command the western flotilla of gunboats. These boats were of somewhat different construction from the ocean-going, being flat-bottomed and not plated so heavily; indeed some of them, from the lightness of their armor, were jocosely styled "tin-clads." Grant had about 30,000 men gathered at Cairo, Paducah and Bird's Point. Reconnoissances, which had sorely distracted the enemy, both by land and water, ascertained the positions of their forces.

At length the expedition was ready to move; ten regiments, with their artillery and cavalry, embarked on transports at Cairo. The steamers headed up stream to Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee, and up that river. The Confederates now learned that Fort Henry was to be attacked. Captain Foote, with his gunboats, bore the steamers company. Four miles below the fort the troops under General McClernand disembarked, Foote meanwhile shelling the woods in search of the enemy. The following day transports brought more troops and General Grant. Feb. 2.

Captain Foote wished the attack to be deferred for a day, so that the fort could be so invested as to secure the prisoners, assuming that he himself could subdue the fort before the troops could get in position. The gunboats had not yet been tried, and both Grant and his officers evidently did not have the faith in them that the captain had. Prompt at the hour, 11 A. M., General McClernand moved to throw his division on the road leading from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Captain Foote also Feb. 6.

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CHAP. LVIII. 1862.

moved at the same time, and passing up on the west side of an island, and, the water being high, over obstructions put in the channel, suddenly came into the river near the fort. The gunboats took their position and began to throw shots and shells, and approached nearer and nearer; so terrible was the storm that the earthworks crumbled away and nearly one half of the fort's guns were dismounted, and the infantry supports of the artillery fled, the insurgent flag was hauled down and the fort surrendered unconditionally. Only 130 prisoners were secured, the remainder escaped, as the Union forces were not yet in position to capture them, for, true to his word, Foote had subdued the fort in one hour and fifteen minutes. The astonishment at the success of the gunboats was as great among the army and its officers as the wholesome dread with which they inspired the Confederates. Unfortunately the boiler of the Essex gunboat was struck by a cannon ball, and the issuing steam scalded twenty-four of the men and killed four instantly, otherwise the boats were scarcely injured.

The captain sent gunboats in pursuit of the steamers, which they overtook and destroyed, and also transports laden with supplies for the enemy. They ascended to Florence, Ala., making clean work of all war material on the river. The Union gunboats, at almost every point, were welcomed by the people. Captain Foote returned on the evening of the battle to Cairo, to repair damages to the boats and prepare for the expedition against Fort Donelson on the west bank of the Cumberland, twelve miles east of Fort Henry. The Confederates deemed it of the greatest importance to hold this place. Thither General A. Sidney Johnston had sent troops under John B. Floyd and Buckner, the former having chief command.

The main fort stood on a gradually rising hill; the top, or plateau, contained about one hundred acres. The crest of this plateau was encircled by rifle pits, and artillery commanded every approach, and it was deemed impregnable by

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the enemy. West and south of the fort were hills densely wooded and filled with ravines. CHAP. LVIII.

Grant moved from Fort Henry and invested Donelson on the afternoon of the same day. The next day were fierce artillery duels; sharpshooters on both sides were busy; desperate sorties by the enemy were repulsed; and an equally desperate attempt to capture a battery that annoyed the Union army was made by McClernand's order, but after a heroic effort failed. 1862. Feb. 12.

The next morning Captain Foote came up with six gunboats, and at 2 P. M. commenced the bombardment of the fort. The boats came within 350 yards of the water battery. For more than an hour the battle raged. Only two of the enemy's guns were able to reply, when a chance shot cut the tiller chain of the Louisville. The boat veered round and exposed her side, and another such shot broke the rudder post, and she was carried helplessly down the current. Encouraged by this mishap, the enemy directed all their fire on the St. Louis, the flag boat, a heavy battery on the hill joining in. The St. Louis was soon as helpless as the Louisville, one of her side wheels being broken by a solid shot, and she too floated down the stream after having been struck fifty-nine times. Feb. 14.

An assault had been intended all along the enemy's line when the fleet had silenced the guns in the water forts. After the result was known General Grant consulted with Foote, and it was deemed best to repair the gunboats and wait for the mortar floats, that were not in readiness when Foote left Cairo at the peremptory command of Halleck.

Meantime the enemy became alarmed lest they should be so hemmed in that they could not escape, and they resolved to cut their way out by dislodging their besiegers. Accordingly at dawn of day the next morning they moved out in three divisions, intending to converge to one point of attack on the Federal right next the river; but they unexpectedly found the Union army prepared in front of their own earthworks, and before they were formed in line Feb. 15.

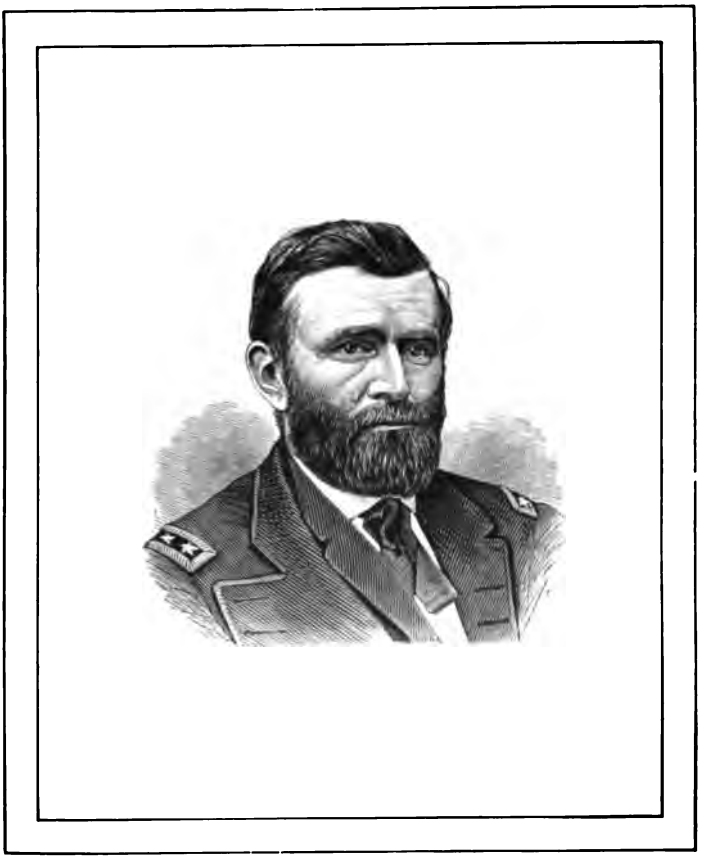
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CHAP. LVIII. 1862.

of battle they were attacked and held in check, but only to make another attempt, and thus on the south side of the fort the conflict waged for five hours. Regiment after regiment of these inexperienced Union soldiers took their places and remained till their ammunition was exhausted, and they were relieved by fresh troops. Many of these when their cartridges failed begged to be led in a bayonet charge against the enemy. Such was the spirit of this whole army. The battle for the most part was fought in a forest with a dense undergrowth, which much impeded rapid movements. The Confederates thus far had made desperate aggressive attempts. Now Grant, who had been absent holding a consultation with Captain Foote, in turn determined to assault their lines, and he ordered the Federals, about one P.M., to carry the enemy's position by assault. This was most handsomely done, the enemy being driven at the point of the bayonet to their inner works. On the Federal right a similar assault was made, with the same result. The Union army held all their advanced positions during the night, and were preparing to renew the attack in the morning. This gloomy night was passed in bringing within the Union lines the wounded, scattered over a space of two miles and a half. The Union soldiers and the Confederates fared alike, being cared for with equal kindness.

There was evidently commotion in the enemy's camp. In the morning, when the Union lines advanced at daylight to the assault, numerous muskets were held up along their ramparts displaying white flags. The advance halted, and General Buckner desired to negotiate. He was left in command; Floyd and Pillow had slipped off up the river with some of their followers on board a transport, and left Buckner to bear the stigma of surrendering. He wished for an armistice and terms of capitulation. General Grant refused the request, and replied, "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted; I purpose to move immediately on your works." Buckner at

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U. S Grant

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once surrendered. The number of prisoners was nearly 14,000, and their killed and wounded 1,300; and all the guns and military stores, an immense amount. This victory sent dismay into the Confederacy, while the rejoicings in the loyal States were great. The activity and energy of the Western undrilled armies were contrasted with the inactivity and discipline that reigned around Washington.

Immediately after this capture the enemy evacuated Bowling Green and moved toward Nashville, which place they merely passed through, destroying, in their haste, both the railway and suspension bridges over the Cumberland—an unnecessary destruction of property, as their ruin scarcely impeded the Union army. The Legislature with the Governor left in haste. The beautiful city was occupied by Federal forces and order restored. That stronghold Columbus, on the Mississippi, was also evacuated on the receipt of the news of the fall of Fort Donelson.

Feb. 23.

Feb. 25.

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CHAPTER LIX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Burnside's Expedition to North Carolina—Capture of Newbern—Battle of Pea Ridge—Capture of New Madrid and Island No 10—Battle of Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh—Capture of New Orleans—Death of Admiral Foote—Battle of river iron clads—Capture of Memphis—Evacuation of Corinth—Plans of movements on Richmond—The Merrimac and Monitor duel.

CHAP. LIX. 1862.

ON the Atlantic coast a naval and land expedition under Commander Goldsboro and General A. E. Burnside was fitted out, against Roanoke Island—the scene of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony[1]—and to make a demonstration on the coast of North Carolina, to encourage the Union men, and also create a diversion south of Richmond and Norfolk.

In approaching Albemarle Sound the rebel fleet and an earthwork known as Fort Barton were encounted; the enemy's fleet soon retired out of harm's way, and Goldsboro opened upon the fort, but was not able to reduce it after a bombardment of some hours. During the night the troops landed, and in the morning, under General Foster, moved to the attack over a swampy and difficult way. On the march they came upon a battery, protected by a swamp on either side; Foster flanked the battery right and left, and when the Union soldiers came out upon their rear flanks, the enemy threw down their arms and fled. This success was

Feb. 8.

[1] Hist. pp. 72-74.

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followed up and their entire force—about 3,000—on the island of Roanoke was captured. CHAP. LIX. 1862.

Burnside issued the usual proclamation, promising protection to those engaged in their usual avocations and enjoining the Union soldiers not to injure private property on their march. Roanoke Island became the base of operations; and from it were sent out many expeditions which essentially interfered with the English blockade runners by seizing harbors and filling channels of approach.

Mar. 11. The most important capture of Newbern on the Neuse was accomplished by a combined land and naval force. The troops landed 17 miles below the town, and marched up the road along the river bank and a railway track from Beaufort, the gunboats by their shells keeping the enemy at a respectful distance. About three miles below the town was found a formidable fieldwork, which promised to offer much resistance. This fortification was flanked by a swamp and Burnside sent a detachment round, while he pressed the enemy in front; the detachment appeared on the flank, but the Confederates held their ground until a Rhode Island regiment, on the run, charged bayonet and changed the tide of battle; other Union troops pressed on and the rout was complete. A portion of the fleeing enemy reached a train of cars and carried the news of defeat to Newbern. Mar 14. There, as was their custom, they began to burn a bridge and all the rosin and turpentine, and the steamers at the wharf, two of which were saved by the United States gunboats. The enemy had wantonly set the town on fire, but the citizens with aid from the United States Marines succeded in putting it out, though not until the best Hotel and the Court House and many private residences were consumed. General Foster was installed as Military Governor in Newbern.

Other places in the vicinity were captured, such as Beaufort and Washington, on Pamlico River. Fort Macon, a strong fortification built by the United States Government to protect the harbor of Beaufort, was reduced after a bom-

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CHAP. LIX. 1862.

bardment of eleven hours. This secured the blockading fleet one of the finest and safest harbors on the coast.

Major-General S. R. Curtis was directed by General Halleck to drive Generals Price and Rains and their bands out of Missouri into Arkansas. Curtis was soon on the

Mar. 1.

march toward Springfield, where Price and his band had been for some time. The latter took the alarm and hastily retreated South, Curtis pursuing and the enemy retreating, till at length they reached the Boston Mountains. Curtis learned that they were concentrating against him under General Van Dorn, whose army numbered about 34,000 men; of these Ben McCullough had 13,000—outnumbering the Union army more than four to one. These made attacks on the various Federal divisions as they came up, but were always repulsed. At length they concentrated at Pea Ridge in Arkansas, and the enemy advanced to give battle, which raged all day on the Federal right with

Mar. 7.

scarcely a cessation. The ground was hilly and covered with thick underbrush and broken up by ravines. On the left wing the contest was equally stubborn, but more varied in result. Ben McCullough made a desperate assault upon Colonel Oesterhaus, of Sigel's division, but Curtis ordered up Davis's troops to the Colonel's aid, and the combined force drove the enemy headlong from the field, they leaving dead their commanding generals, McIntosh and Ben McCullough—the latter the master-spirit of their army. Success had also crowned the left wing. During the night both armies lay on their arms; the Union soldiers resting for the first time in two days' marching and sleepless nights.

At sunrise the battle was renewed, and raged most of the day along the whole line, nearly three miles; Sigel handling his artillery with wonderful rapidity and effect. Every attempt to break the Union line was foiled. For more than two hours this continued, when Sigel began to advance his part of the line; the enemy sought shelter in the woods, but the Federals charged through their shelter and drove them with the bayonet to an open field beyond,

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when they broke and fled in all directions. Thus ended the two days' fight at Pea Ridge. Never before had the enemy suffered so disastrous a defeat. Soon after those who had not deserted were transferred to the army of General S. A. Johnston, again to meet the Union soldiers under General Grant.

The National Government never lost sight of the importance of the control of the Mississippi river, and to that end Admiral Foote directed his attention in connection with a land force under General Pope. The enemy made the most strenuous exertions to retain their hold of the great river as a most important source of supplies, both beyond it and on its tributaries.

The islands in the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio downward are designated by numbers. The Confederates chose available points on the river to fortify, such as New Madrid in Missouri, opposite Island No. 10, Tiptonville in Kentucky, and No. 10 itself—all three within supporting distance. To this island they had directed special attention, Beauregard, their best engineer, superintending the works and pronouncing them impregnable. In consequence here were collected vast military stores and provisions as for a long siege.

Admiral Foote was to bombard No. 10, and at the same time Pope to capture New Madrid. The latter found the town fortified by earthworks and defended by three gunboats, which, because of the high water in the river, were able to sweep its banks, and in the face of these guns it would be impossible to hold the town if captured. He therefore sent to Cairo for siege guns—24 pounders. These soon came, and during the night time were placed in position within 800 yards of the enemy's main fortification, and in the morning opened upon the astonished enemy, every shot telling with fine effect, dismounting several of their heaviest guns. The shot also reached their gunboats and steamers in the river, compelling them to hasten out of range. A night of storm and rain came on, and in the

Mar. 8.

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CHAP. LIX. 1862. Mar. 14. morning, just as the guns were about to reopen, a white flag was seen approaching. The messenger brought word that the enemy had evacuated the fort, abandoning everything, and the town authorities wished to surrender.

Immediately after the surrender General Pope prepared to coöperate with Admiral Foote in the reduction of No. 10. The latter came down with his gun-boats and mortar-floats, and for twenty-two days bombarded the island, but without effecting any great break in the works. The whole west shore of the river opposite the island was under water from the spring freshets, and Pope had no transports to carry his men to the east side of the river, and they could not pass the batteries on No. 10. Pope determined, at the suggestion of General Hamilton, to cut a canal across the peninsula, in the rear of New Madrid, to the river below, and pass through this the transports. By an ingenious Apr. 4. apparatus the trees were sawed off four and a half feet below the surface of the overflowing water, and thus a passage was made for the transports which at once passed through. This unique canal was twelve miles long and fifty feet wide. On the evening of the day on which this canal was finished, the gunboat *Carondelet*, in the midst of a thunderstorm, ran past the batteries on No. 10, and two nights after the gunboat *Pittsburg* performed the same feat. These boats soon silenced the rebel batteries along the river below, May 7. and by midnight of the same day Pope's army was across the river and pushing for Tiptonville to intercept the enemy fleeing from No. 10, which place, it was rumored, they were evacuating. Early the next morning No. 10 surrendered to Admiral Foote "17 officers, 363 soldiers, 70 heavy cannon, ranging from 32 to 100 pounders, the latter rifled, and an immense amount of other military stores, four steamers and a floating battery." Meanwhile Pope had intercepted the retreating foe, who laid down their arms, surrendering unconditionally as prisoners of war, in all nearly 7,000. A few days before the surrender Beauregard left No. 10. This defeat and loss was a source of great mortification to the

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Confederate authorities, and was equally a gratification to the loyal people of the free States. CHAP. LIX. 1862.

General Grant and his army left Nashville and marched for the Tennessee River, which they reached, about 240 miles from its mouth, at an obscure place of three or four houses, known as Pittsburg Landing, but now famous in the annals of the war.

General Buell soon after began the march with his Division for the same place. The ultimate point sought was Corinth, a strategic position in Northern Mississippi on the Memphis and Charleston railway. For two months the enemy had been concentrating here, and fortifying the hills in the immediate vicinity, General A. S. Johnston first in command, and Beauregard second. The most strenuous efforts were made to resist the Union army; Manassas and Centreville were evacuated—McClellan by his inactivity permitting it—and their lines drawn more closely around Richmond; in order to spare troops for this emergency; General Bragg was ordered from Pensacola with his well-drilled artillery and infantry; Columbus was evacuated and under General-Bishop Polk the garrison marched to the same point; and from Arkansas, late from Pea Ridge, came General Van Dorn, bringing 15,000 men. The enemy advanced from their stronghold to meet Grant's army at the crossing, and if possible crush him before Buell could bring up his forces. The Union army had crossed over and was stationed in a semi-circle, the center in the front of the road to Corinth, the left extending round to the river at Hamburg, four miles distant. The Shiloh meeting-house stood directly out in the country, two and a half miles from the landing; around this church was the principal conflict, hence the Confederates name the battle Shiloh. The country west of the landing is rough, and covered with a dense forest of scrub-oak and black jack, with here and there an open field. The enemy skirmished more or less for two days, no doubt to ascertain the Federal position. Mar. 18.

Early Sunday morning they drove in the advanced

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CHAP. LIX. 1862. Apr. 6.

Federal pickets. The entire division flew to arms and awaited the enemy's advance. After an hour's waiting they came on, attacking the center; and, extending their line by an oblique movement, threw an overwhelming force upon the left, driving the Federals back and capturing General Prentiss and his regiment almost entire. They pressed on, turning to the left, but were held in check by three Illinois regiments till they were overpowered and forced to retire, losing three guns. General W. T. Sherman still held his first line at the meeting-house until the enemy passed round to his rear, when he fell back and took a new position. "My division," he says, "was made up of regiments perfectly new, nearly all having recently received their muskets." Great numbers of these frightened men found their way back to the river, two miles distant, and no efforts of their officers could induce them to return. The enemy by main force drove the Union left through their camp toward the river, but were at length held at bay for four hours by the pluck of General McClernand and his troops. The Confederates had planned not to attack but in overpowering numbers; thus when they attacked the center they deployed their main force against the left. They well knew that, if at all, they must crush this advanced Union force before Buell could come up, or troops under Generals Nelson and Thomas could reach the field of battle. At five P.M. was a brief lull in the firing. The enemy fell back, and then suddenly, as if to take the Federals by surprise, threw forward their whole force for the second time, with such fierceness and desperation that the Union army was compelled to fall back. Just then the gunboats Lexington and Tyler came up the river. They soon learned by a messenger from General Grant the position of the enemy. The boats took their station and sent in with great rapidity their shot and shell, the latter bursting amid the ranks of the Confederates. "The shells hurling death and destruction through the scrub-oak jungles under whose cover the enemy fought securely." In

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less than thirty minutes they had silenced the rebel batteries. Just before the boats opened fire Buell's advanced division appeared on the Union right, and they successfully resisted the last charge of the enemy that day. This was nearly a great victory. They had the advantage of superior numbers; on the morrow that would be changed. General A. Sidney Johnston, their commander-in-chief, was among the slain. CHAP. LIX. 1862.

The Union army in this battle numbered about 38,000, while the enemy had 45,000, under their best generals—A. S. Johnston, Beauregard, Bishop Polk, and Hardee—and the best fighting material they had in the field; but in endurance and cool, determined courage the Northern soldiers were superior, though the Southern had the more dash.

Reinforcements for the Union army began to arrive on the evening of the battle. The remainder of Buell's forces; Nelson and Crittenden's divisions, some on foot and some on steamers; two batteries of the regular army, and McCook's division, by a forced march, reached the landing early the following morning.

It was General Grant's turn now to take the offensive, and a general advance was ordered to begin at 5 o'clock the next morning. The hostile pickets were driven in and the battle became general along the whole line. At 10 A. M. the Union army was moving forward and forcing the enemy step by step from point to point, and though occasionally checked, the Union army moved steadily forward; their fire was regular as clock-work, and the divisions sustained each other admirably. At length the enemy, after repeated attempts to break through the Union lines and failing, seemed to despair of succeeding. For seven long hours they had fought valiantly. Beauregard made the most strenuous exertions and exposed himself in his efforts to prevent his army falling back toward Corinth. The pursuit was not pressed vigorously owing to the intervening woods, which impeded the movements of cavalry, and the infantry Apr. 7.

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CHAP. LIX. 1862.

only pursued the retreating foe for a mile or two. The enemy fell back to their entrenchments at Corinth, and Beauregard proclaimed a great Confederate victory; that was for the public, but his private dispatch to Jefferson Davis, captured at Huntsville by General O. M. Mitchel, told the true story, calling for reinforcements, and saying: "If defeated here we lose the Mississippi Valley and probably our cause."

The Union loss in killed, 1,785; wounded, 7,883; the rebel, killed, 1,728, and wounded, 8,012. The enemy, for the most part, were better protected by the dense woods, as they fought on ground of their own choosing.

While these stirring events were enacting in the West a combined expedition was fitting out against New Orleans in the East, General B. F. Butler to command the land forces and Admiral D. S. Farragut the naval. Through the influence of Butler the men for the enterprise were principally enlisted in New England. The rendezvous for the troops was Ship Island, lying in the waters of the Gulf midway between Mobile and New Orleans, by way of Lake Pontchartrain, thus threatening either place. A powerful fleet of mortar boats had been fitted out at the Brooklyn Navy Yard under the direction of Captain David D. Porter. This flo-

Mar. 16.

tilla joined the fleet off the mouth passes of the Mississippi. Admiral Farragut commanded the whole armament, and Porter, under him, had control of the mortar boats. The whole fleet and transports soon passed within the passes, and

Apr. 4.

gunboats acted as pickets up the river to give notice of the approach of certain iron-clads and rams and fire rafts—huge barges laden with split pine over which had been poured melted pitch, rendering them highly inflammable. One of these rams, the *Manassas*, carried English rifled guns. They also had an iron-clad floating battery, the *Louisiana*, besides 18 armed steamers, some of which were protected by an armor of iron. Their naval commander, Hollins, announced that with these he would annihilate the Union fleet. An exceedingly strong chain was stretched on floats

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across the channel from Fort Jackson to the opposite shore, near to Fort St. Philip. This chain was commanded by the guns of the forts. These forts—75 miles below the city—were very strong structures built by the United States Government. Fort Jackson had 120 guns and St. Philip nearly as many. In addition, the enemy had flanking batteries commanding the river for three miles, and also the approach from Lake Pontchartrain.

Arrangements completed, the Union squadron moved to the attack. Then occurred one of the most terrible cannon battles on record. Fourteen mortar-boats, throwing immense shells from the west shore, and six others on the eastern bank of the river in the swamp passages, and so covered by green bushes as to be well masked, six ships of war, and gunboats up and down the stream took part in the thunderous fray, while the forts replied with great vigor. The bombardment lasted all day; the guns in the embrasures of Fort Jackson were silenced, and also the last one on the side of St. Philip. Meanwhile Hollins sent down fire-rafts in the midst of the battle, but they did but little harm, as they were all destroyed by balls from the guns or seized by grappling irons prepared for the purpose and towed where they could harmlessly burn. At night a deserter came aboard and informed Porter of the condition of the forts. From his statement it was evident they could not be reduced for several days. This information determined Farragut to run past the forts, and orders were given to prepare for the hazardous attempt. Meantime the mortar-boats continued to throw shells into the forts. Apr. 18.

That night two parties in boats passed up and cut the chain without being discovered, and also a boat with muffled oars passed above the forts and took soundings, finding the channel free of obstructions. This, even, the enemy did not discover, though they had large fires burning all night along the shore to prevent surprises.

Orders were passed that night from ship to ship to prepare to run the gauntlet, and at 2 o'clock in the morning Apr. 24.

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CHAP. LIX. 1862.

the fleet was under way. The darkness was so great that the sentinels at the fort did not discover the movement until the first division approached the chain, in a minute more, and both the forts opened. This was the signal for Porter, who, with his mortars, threw a shower of bursting shells inside the forts, which interfered materially with their firing; the vessels as they passed by poured in their broadsides. As they passed beyond the forts they found themselves in the midst of hostile iron-clads and rams; the latter butting in every direction. The Union gunboats, generally, were able to dodge them, and in turn pay them the compliment of a broadside. The *Cayuga*, a swift vessel, passing through compelled three steamers to strike their flags. The ram *Manassas* was running round butting at anything in the smoke and darkness; finally, she ran foul of the *Brooklyn*, which gave her a broadside with her heavy guns, and the ram disappeared in the darkness. Only one vessel was lost, the *Varuna*, Captain Boggs. The career of this vessel deserves relating. The captain finding himself "in a nest of rebel steamers" started forward, giving broadsides right and left; the first went into a steamer crowded with troops, exploded her boilers and she drifted ashore; afterward three other vessels were driven ashore in flames and blown up. Then the *Varuna* was attacked by an iron-clad ram, which raked her and butted her on the quarter, but she managed, meantime, to plant three 8-inch shells in the armor of her foe, and a rifle shot, when the ram dropped out of action. At this moment another large iron-clad, with a prow under water, struck the *Varuna* in the port gangway, doing considerable damage; then her enemy drew off and made another plunge and struck again in the same place, crushing in her sides; now the *Varuna* gave her antagonist five 8-inch shells; these settled her, and she floated ashore in flames. The *Varuna* herself was in a sinking condition; but her men were taken off by boats from the other vessels before she went down. All along the river bank were stranded rebel steamers and

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rams, nearly all on fire from Union shots and shells; two or three steamers and the iron-clad battery *Louisiana* had escaped, and sought protection under the guns of Fort Jackson; two or three hundred prisoners were taken. 1862.

The next day Farragut was ready to move, and the following morning the fleet steamed up the river, and after being delayed one-half hour to silence some batteries, he reached New Orleans in the afternoon, and demanded its surrender, which was complied with by the mayor. General Lovel, who was in command, before leaving the city had fired the long line of ships, steamers and flat-boats, and vast stores of cotton, tobacco and sugar—a most wanton destruction of private property, not all contraband of war. The United States public buildings were taken possession of by Union soldiers to protect them. The forts Jackson and St. Philip also capitulated when the fall of New Orleans was known. General Butler arrived and entered upon his duties as commandant of the city and vicinity. The city was garrisoned immediately—the troops marching in to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," and order restored under the skillful and energetic rule of Butler. He prepared his proclamation and sent it to the various papers to be published. They all refused. A sufficient number of practical printers volunteered from the ranks, took possession of one of the offices, and issued the proclamation. This incident was similar to many others that occurred during this war showing the intelligence and industrial skill of the soldiers of the Union armies.

Apr. 26.

Apr. 28.

Farragut sent the gunboat *Iroquois*, Captain Palmer, up the river to the capital of the State, Baton Rouge, which surrendered on demand; then to Natchez, Mississippi, which place surrendered; and then to Vicksburg, which was found to be fortified and garrisoned, and she refused to run up the Stars and Stripes. Her time came in due season.

May 12.

During this time Admiral Foote and General Pope were working their way down the Mississippi, capturing fortified places one after another; delayed a few days at Fort Wright,

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CHAP. LIX. 1862. Apr. 12. Chickasaw Bluffs. Here Pope was ordered to join Halleck at Corinth; and Admiral Foote, at the imperative orders of his physician, also retired from the service on account of wounds received in the attack on Fort Donelson. A few weeks later he died, a victim of patriotic ardor, and cheerful in the Christian's hope.

May 10. Captain J. E. Davis succeeded Admiral Foote; a few days after, he defeated a rebel fleet of iron-clads and armed steamers under Captain Montgomery, in a conflict of thirty minutes; Forts Wright and Pillow were abandoned by the enemy; this opened the way down toward Memphis. The

June 4. Union fleet was joined by Captain Ellet's rams of unique construction; made out of powerful tug-boats. The whole fleet passed down to island No. 45, two miles above Memphis, off which place lay the Confederate iron-clads. At four A.M., Captain Davis steamed down to find the enemy's fleet

June 6. on the alert. The battle began at long range, but Ellet's two rams, the *Queen of the West* and the *Monarch*, passed rapidly by the Union gunboats, and rushed with great impetuosity into the midst of the rebel boats, firing heavy shots right and left, and when opportunity served plying the enemy with hot water by means of a hose of peculiar construction. Then came on the gunboats, and the result of this singular contest was that only one of the ten gunboats of the Confederates escaped—they either being sunk or blown up. In consequence of this destruction of their whole fleet Memphis surrendered unconditionally.

The Confederates deemed Corinth an important strategic point, being at the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and Mobile and Ohio railways, but that importance was gone as soon as the roads were cut and Memphis in the hands of the Union forces. General Halleck assumed command after the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and advanced into the vicinity of Corinth and commenced digging parallels and making approaches. Thus he spent six weeks.

May 30. The enemy in the meantime, were leisurely carrying away their war material, and when this was done they evacuated

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their stronghold, while Halleck kept 120,000 men within striking distance until they were well on their way. General Pope was sent in pursuit, but captured only about 2,000 prisoners. This was the only instance, thus far, of undue tardiness in a Western army. The enemy had 47,000 men.

We have seen the Union soldiers in the West gaining battle after battle, and in no instance failing to accomplish their ultimate object. They met the enemy in superior numbers at Pea Ridge and drove them out of Missouri, they captured Forts Henry and Donelson, and opened up the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers, compelling the evacuation of that stronghold, Columbus; won the battle of Shiloh, and compelled the enemy to retire to Corinth, which in turn they were made to abandon. Along the South Atlantic coast battles had been fought, and place after place had been captured and held; an expedition against New Orleans had been eminently successful, and now, after many conflicts, the whole of the Mississippi was held from above to down below Memphis, and from its mouth up to Vicksburg. While these advances were progressing, the Army of the Potomac was chafing at their imposed inactivity, and drilling in entrenchments around the National Capital.

General McClellan had asked for men till his numbers had gradually increased in February to 222,196 names on his roll, of whom 193,142 were fit for duty. In the previous August, in a note to President Lincoln, he says: "I propose with this force to move into the heart of the enemy's country, and crush the rebellion in its very heart." Yet no movement was made. Time passed on, and McClellan did not intimate to the anxious President or Secretary of War that he had any plans of a campaign. Several conferences were held by the President and some members of his Cabinet, at one of which the President asked the Commander-in-Chief what he intended to do with his army. After a long pause, he remarked he "was very unwilling to develop his plans, but would do so if ordered." The Presi-

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CHAP. LIX.

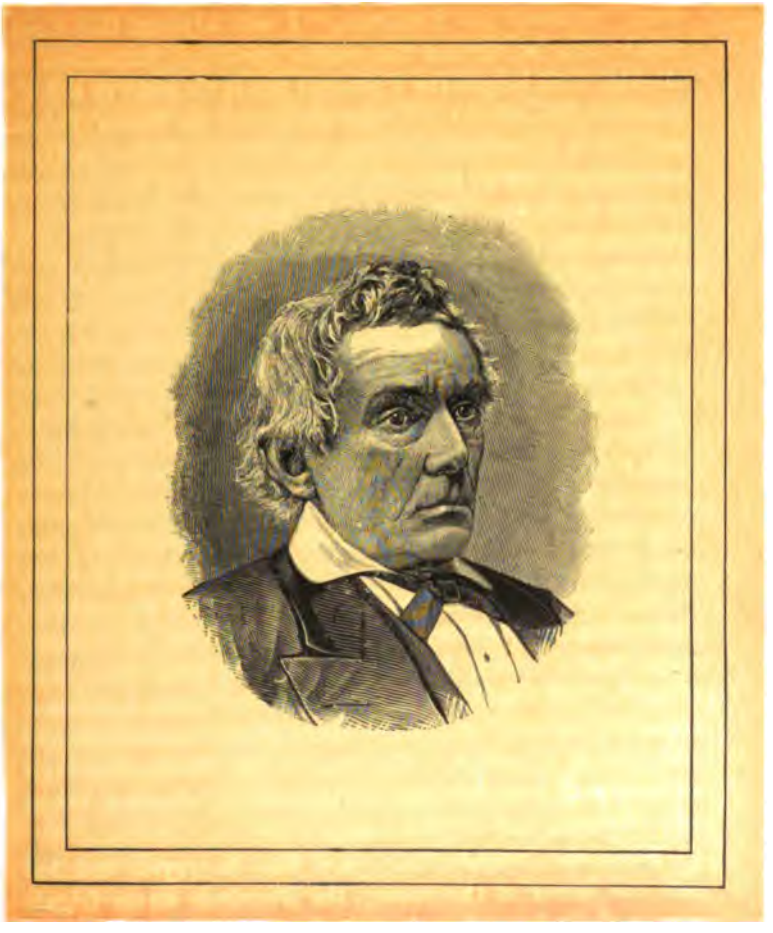
1862. Jan. 13. dent asked if he had fixed any time in his own mind when he would move the army. The reply was, he had. "On that," rejoined the President, "I will adjourn this meeting." Yet McClellan for weeks gave no intimation of moving. At length the President felt it his duty to order a general advance of the Union armies on the 22d of February. It is a coincidence that on this day Jefferson Davis was inaugurated at Richmond President of the Confederacy for six years, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President. Feb. 22. Perhaps the President in designating this day had in mind that it was the anniversary of the birth of Washington.

Previous to this President Lincoln addressed a note to McClellan, saying, "Your plan is by the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana on the York; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad south-west of Manassas. If you will give satisfactory answers to the following questions I shall gladly yield my plan to yours: Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of *time* and *money* than *mine?* Wherein is a victory *more valuable* by your plan than by mine? In fact, would it not be *less valuable* in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would? In case of disaster, would not a retreat be *more difficult* by your plan than mine?" No direct reply was made to these questions, though a report of the same date by the General-in-Chief was claimed to answer. The plan of the President and his advisers was virtually the one selected by General Grant when he advanced on Richmond.

When the Norfolk navy-yard was destroyed and fell into the hands of the enemy, the *Merrimac* steam frigate was partially burned and sunk, but was afterward raised by the enemy and made over as an iron-clad of tremendous power. From hints thrown out by their newspapers this mysterious monster became a source of great dread to the fleet in and around the lower Chesapeake and Hampton Roads.

Meanwhile Captain Ericsson was building at New York

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Alexander H. Stephens

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a unique iron-clad on a new principle, his own invention. This was a revolving turret, made entirely of successive layers of wrought iron plates to the thickness of eleven inches. This turret was turned at will by steam; within it were two rifled guns throwing each an elongated shot weighing 175 pounds, and loaded by machinery; the turret had two protected port-holes, and was placed on an iron-clad hulk, the deck of which was only about three feet above the water and clear of every thing except the turret.

For many weeks the sloop of war *Cumberland* and the frigate *Congress* had watched off Newport News for the expected monster, now called the *Virginia* by the enemy. On the morning of March 8th she suddenly steamed out from the navy yard at Gosport, and made for the *Cumberland*, but when passing by the *Congress* gave her a broadside, doing much damage. The *Cumberland* had a heavy armament of 9 and 10-inch Dahlgren guns, and she poured in her broadsides with precision; but these heavy balls glanced harmlessly off the sloping sides of the *Merrimac*, while one of her solid shots tore through the wooden sloop's bulwarks. The *Cumberland's* men fought desperately, warping round their vessel to give effective broadsides; presently the *Merrimac* rushed at full speed upon the *Cumberland* and pierced her hull below the water line, making a hole four feet in diameter, and crushing in the frigate's upper decks, still pouring in solid shot and making a horrible slaughter on the crowded decks. Of the 450 men on board not a man wavered in this presence of death; their vessel was fast filling; in five minutes the water reached the berth deck where lay the dying and wounded. It was seen by her officers that the vessel must sink; at the last moment a salute was fired in honor of their country's flag; hardly had this been done when the ship gave a lurch and disappeared under the water. More than 300 of these brave fellows perished, the remainder were picked up by boats which put off from shore.

Mar. 8.

Meanwhile the *Congress* was engaged with the *Merri-*

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mac's two steam tenders—the *Jamestown* and the *Patrick Henry*. She was towed into shallow water and grounded, but not out of reach of the *Merrimac's* guns, which soon disabled every gun on board the frigate and set her on fire. Lieutenant Pendegrast hauled down his flag to spare further slaughter. An officer from the *Merrimac* boarded the *Congress* and received the surrender, but when on his way back some persons on the shore fired rifles upon his tug. When he returned the *Merrimac* shelled the shore and resumed fire upon the helpless *Congress*, whose men were not responsible for the firing from the shore. It was a most unwarrantable slaughter of innocent men. The *Congress* was set on fire by these shells and burned until the magazine was exploded; 150 men were lost. The *Merrimac* now made for the steam frigate *Minnesota*, which, when coming to engage in the conflict, had grounded three miles away. The commander of the *Merrimac*, afraid of getting into shallow water, contented himself by firing a few shots at long range which did but little harm. The rebel ironclad withdrew at seven in the evening to renew her work of destruction in the morning, which was to sink or destroy every ship of war in the roads, and then what could she not do? The seaboard cities would be at her mercy. No wonder this was a night of gloom in the Roads and of anxiety all over the land, whither the telegraph had carried the news of these disasters.

Just after the *Merrimac* disappeared a singular looking craft appeared in the offing; it was the Ericsson invention —the *Monitor*—of which we have just spoken. She reported for duty and took her position near the *Minnesota*.

Mar. 9.

Early Sunday morning the *Merrimac* was seen coming from behind Sewall's Point. She ran down near the Rip Raps, then turned and ran for the grounded frigate, whose heavy stern guns gave her their solid shot. The *Monitor*—designated by the sailors as a cheese-box on a raft—ran down to meet the monster, which seemed to look askance

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at the little craft, and threw a shot at her, as if to say, Get out of the way or you may be hurt; but instead, placing herself between the *Minnesota* and her antagonist, she paid her respects by a solid shot of 175 pounds. The *Merrimac* now turned with her broadsides against the turret, but without effect. The *Monitor's* two guns deliberately put in their shot. The *Merrimac* attempted to run down her little antagonist, and only once grazed her. The nimble *Monitor* was under such perfect control that she would dodge her enemy, and as she passed regularly gave her a shot. The *Merrimac* now gave up the attempt to run the craft down, but turned her attention to the *Minnesota*, but the *Monitor* again interposed by placing herself between the combatants; and the *Merrimac*, to get rid of her, stood down the bay, the *Monitor* pursuing. Presently the *Merrimac* turned and ran full speed at her pursuer, which dodged her enemy, and, as she passed, plunged a shot into her iron roof. The *Merrimac* soon turned and made for Sewall's Point, pursued for some distance by the *Monitor;* but as the latter had orders only to act on the defensive, she withdrew as soon as the victory was won. It has never transpired how much injury the *Merrimac* received. It is certain, however, she no more ventured out from her anchorage, where she was carefully guarded by land batteries, and in the end was blown to pieces lest she should fall into Federal hands. Thus ended the most influential naval duel that ever occurred, as it revolutionized the naval warfare of the world. All the naval powers now began to build iron-clads and virtually throw aside wooden men-of-war. The United States Government also began to build monitors of various sizes, some very large, and soon had a fleet of iron-clads more powerful than the war fleets of all the world combined.

May 11.

At the last broadside of the *Merrimac*, Captain Worden, the commander of the *Monitor*, was in the pilot-house, and when looking through the eye-crevice a heavy shot struck the house and the concussion knocked him senseless. When

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consciousness returned, the fight was over and all was silent. He anxiously asked, "Have I saved the frigate?" "Aye, aye, and whipped the *Merrimac*," was the answer. "Then I care not what becomes of me," said he.

When the firing on Sumter took place, the great majority of the loyal people of the free States, and the officers of the National Government, had hitherto complied faithfully with the spirit of the Constitution, and of the laws of Congress in respect to the rendition of fugitive slaves. Even when it was known that more than a thousand of that class had been for weeks repairing fortifications, throwing up earthworks, and mounting guns against Fort Sumter, yet the loyal people did not realize that by this act the relation of the slaves to the Union had been changed. So strong was the influence of law, that for some time after the war began the slaves who fled in search of freedom to the Federal armies were returned to their masters as fugitives. It was the Abolitionists alone who were decidedly opposed to this policy. The loyal people of the free States had not yet been educated up to that plane, nor to that of utilizing these fugitives for the cause of the Union. Masters would come to the camps of the Federal army and demand their slaves under the famous Fugitive Slave Bill; and these demands were complied with by the generals of Democratic sympathies, with one marked exception—that of Benjamin F. Butler, in command at Fortress Monroe. That shrewd lawyer-general took in the situation; he refused to surrender them, taking the military view that these fugitives were "*contraband of war*." This decision covered the case; for it was well known that the slaves, by their labor on fortifications and otherwise, were more efficient aiders of the rebellion than if they were actually in the field. The term "contraband" became during the war the popular designation of such fugitives. Butler put these men to work and paid them wages.

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CHAPTER LX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Movement of the Army of the Potomac.—Evacuation of Manassas.—Yorktown, Siege of.—Battle of Williamsburg.—Sanitary Commission.—The Retreat.—Excitement in Richmond.—Conscription Law.—Jackson in Shenandoah Valley.—The Chickahominy.—Battle of Fair Oaks.—Lee in Command.—Battle of Gaines' Mill or Cold Harbor.—Change of Base.—Battle of Malvern Hill.—Harrison's Landing.—Cedar Mountain.—Second Battle of Bull Run.—Lee Invades Maryland.—Harper's Ferry Captured.—Battle of Antietam.—Lee Retreats.—McClellan's Slowness; His Removal.—Burnside in Command.—Battle of Fredericksburg.

PREPARATIONS on a large scale were made to move the Army of the Potomac to its destination on the Peninsula. There were employed 113 steamers, 185 schooners, and 85 barges with tugboats. These were to pass down the bay and up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and thence to "reach the vicinity of Richmond before they (the rebels) could concentrate all their troops there from Manassas." The latter had railroad communication and could place their troops in defense of Richmond long before the Union army could make its way across a country more or less woody, with four rivers to pass, proverbial for their marshy banks. which in the spring were always overflowed by freshets. This plan of advance, as the President suggested, was to leave a way open on the right flank of the army by which a force accustomed to move with the rapidity of the enemy, or, as we have seen, the Union armies in the West, could come

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in overwhelming numbers and attack Washington before it would be possible to recall the Potomac army from its position. For this reason President Lincoln retained McDowell's division for some time that the Capital might be secure. As the Confederates had their spies, male and female, in Washington, every fact worth knowing was communicated to them, and the city when known to be in a position of defense was secure from attack. In a note to McClellan the President gives his reason for retaining McDowell. This reason will always be satisfactory to the people. He says: "After you left I ascertained that less than 20,000 unorganized men, without a single field battery, were all you designed to be left for the defense of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General Hooker's old position."

Mar. 19.

The Confederate General T. J. Jackson — afterward known as "Stonewall"—made a dash at Winchester, where General Shields was in command, but after a day's skirmishing and fighting retired in the night up the valley, destroying all the bridges on the route. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway, through the exertions of the chivalrous General Lander, was once more put in order that supplies could be brought to Washington. General Lander had been wounded in a previous battle, but would not retire, though urged by his physician, and in consequence his great exertions led to his death.

The enemy had been for some time leisurely evacuating Manassas and transporting their war material by railway to Richmond without interference from the Union army. Twenty hours after the fact was known along the front "it was made apparent at headquarters that the enemy was evacuating Centreville and Manassas as well as on the Upper Potomac." Yet orders were not issued for a pursuit until the enemy had been gone thirty-six hours. The Union army, after four days' marching, returned and had "gained some experience on the march and bivouac." So said the General-in-Chief.

Mar. 10.

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"General Joe Johnston had 44,000 men at Centreville and Manassas, and Jackson had 6,000 in the Shenandoah Valley. Johnston finally fell back behind the Rapidan, deemed a more defensive position than the Rappahannock, of which it is a branch."[1]

Two divisions—General Heintzelman commander—left Alexandria on transports for Fortress Monroe. Several days after McDowell's division was ready to move, and as it has been said the President retained it to make Washington safe; but on June 6th, when McClellan might need them, a large portion of the corps (Franklin and McCall's divisions) was dispatched to him, who says in a note to the President, "I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward to take Richmond the moment McCall reaches here and the ground will admit the passage of artillery."

Mar. 18.

June 8.

The plan adopted by McClellan to reach Richmond was by the peninsula formed by the York and James Rivers; the latter not used lest the *Merrimac* should interfere, though she was closely blockaded by the *Monitor* and other war vessels. For one entire month the Union army was engaged in making the most elaborate redoubts and parallels, and placing in order siege guns, while the enemy could leave at any moment, as their rear was open and unobstructed. The Confederate government never intended to make a stand at Yorktown, and General Magruder had only about 11,000 men to defend a line "embracing a front from Yorktown to Milberry Point, thirteen and a half miles." But when the comparatively immense force of McClellan appeared, and after a delay of ten days or more began to dig trenches and not attack, General Joe Johnston availed himself of the delay to join Magruder with 53,000 men,[2] and he only remained to make a show of defense until Richmond could be thoroughly fortified. Had the Union army at once advanced with its much superior numbers, Magruder would have fallen back toward Richmond.

Apr. 4. to May 4.

[1] Life of Lee, p. 74.

[2] Life of Lee, p. 72.

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Magruder, surprised that he was not attacked, says: "In a few days the object of McClellan's delay was apparent. In every direction in front of our lines, through intervening woods and along the open fields, earthworks began to appear." McClellan made requisitions upon the War Department for siege guns, stating that the enemy had within his entrenchments "not less than 100,000 men, probably more," and that "here is to be fought the great battle that is to decide the existing contest," yet the way was open for the Confederates to retire to Richmond whenever they chose. He also complained of his want of men. Mr. Lincoln wrote in reply: "Your dispatches, complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, pain me very much." He reminds the General-in-Chief that he has with him 85,000 effective men, and *en route* enough to make 108,000, remarking: "By delay the enemy will relatively gain upon you; that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone." After further suggestions and expressions of kindness, he closed by saying—"But you must act." Time passed on, the enemy making a bold front to deceive the Union commander, and when he was ready to

May 4.

open with his siege guns, it was discovered one morning that the enemy were gone; their rear guard, even, was far on its way toward Richmond. The Federal gunboats passed up York river convoying transports, carrying Franklin's division to West Point, twenty-five miles above Yorktown, where it arrived the next day. This capture of Yorktown was hailed as an important victory by the people, and excited hopes of the speedy crushing of the rebellion.

The Confederates, meantime, retired as best they could on account of the muddy roads, made so by a pouring rain, which continued for thirty-six hours, and halted to retard the pursuit at Williamsburg, twelve miles above Yorktown, at which place earthwork defenses had been thrown up some time before, mostly by the labor of slaves. About noon the same day the Union cavalry overtook the

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Confederate army and ascertained their position, but imperfectly. The next morning early Heintzelman arrived with his division, Smith's and Hooker's divisions soon after. The latter commenced the battle at 7½ A. M. At 10 A. M. the enemy endeavored to turn the Union left, but Hooker persistently held his place, and for six hours the battle raged on this point; the mire was so deep that artillery could scarcely be handled. There was a lamentable want of coöperation among the division commanders, though General Sumner was nominally in command of the whole force, McClellan being still at Yorktown.

Early in the afternoon ammunition began to fail Hooker's men. Messenger after messenger had been sent to urge on Kearney's division, which was retarded beyond precedent by the almost impassable roads. Heintzelman and Hooker held their position by bayonet charges alone; it seemed a carnage to stand any longer owing to the deficiency of ammunition. "Shall we retire?" said Heintzelman to Hooker. "No sir," said the latter; "if we must fall, let those responsible for it be made to answer; *we* cannot leave this post." "Just my views," said Heintzelman. Presently a hurrah was heard above the din; Kearney's men, begrimed with mud, were coming through the forest. Heintzelman waved his wounded arm and shouted them a welcome, and called to the musicians, "Give us Yankee Doodle, boys!" and a cheer of triumph rose along the whole line as these brave men moved to the conflict. "On to the front!" shouted Heintzelman, and Hooker, knowing the ground, led forward the brigade without a moment's delay. The enemy fell back to their earthworks. "Now for the charge, boys!" was shouted, and they carried the rifle-pits and one redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The enemy tried again and again to recover the position, but were as often repulsed.

In another part of the field were found two redoubts unoccupied; of these Generals Hancock's and Smith's divisions took possession. Soon the Confederates discovered

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their loss, and made an effort to recover them. Hancock feigned to retreat, and they rushed on to make an assault. The Federals, at the proper moment, wheeled and rapidly delivered several deadly volleys, and then charged upon the surprised enemy, secured 500 prisoners, and scattered the remainder. Night came on; the Union soldiers remained on the field, sleeping for the most part on the muddy ground, without shelter or food. General McClellan arrived just as the battle closed.

During the night Johnston withdrew from the Williamsburg defenses and passed over to the south side of the Chickahominy, leaving on the field his dead and badly wounded—about 1,000. Colonel Averil pursued with a cavalry force and captured a large number of prisoners. The Union army lost 456 killed and 1,400 wounded; the Confederate loss was never reported.

The exposure and labor sent a great number of the Union soldiers to the hospitals. Here is where that blessed institution, "The United States Sanitary Commission," came to the rescue of the wounded and sick soldiers. This "Commission" sprang from the benevolence of the people themselves, who cheerfully gave their money to sustain it, and ladies of the highest culture and refinement often volunteered as nurses. Tens of thousands of wounded and sick soldiers were thus aided, and received, under the circumstances, the tenderest care. The influence of that "Commission" has been felt throughout Christendom; and commissions modeled after it have blessed the poor soldiers of Europe in wars since the close of the great rebellion.

Meantime, General Huger was destroying all the war material and ships, to the amount of more than ten million dollars, at the navy-yard at Gosport, preparatory to evacuating Norfolk, when Magruder would leave Yorktown. The next day Commodore Tatnal, who commanded her, gave orders to blow up the *Merrimac*. Now was the time for McClellan to change his base to the James, which he had wished to do when the "monster" was supposed to be

May 11.

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in the way. The gunboats passed up the James, silencing the hostile batteries, until they reached Drury's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond; on the Bluff was Fort Darling, so high that the shots from the gunboats passed over, while its guns were depressed so as to make plunging shots.

These advances caused a thrill of consternation in Richmond, for the citizens and the authorities thought the Union army would promptly follow up its successes. The Confederate Congress refused to remain, but adjourned, failing to manifest the proper confidence in the government or army. Even in the President's mansion was "made a painful exhibition to the South of the weakness and the fears of those entrusted with its fortunes." Preparations were made to remove the public archives to Columbia, S. C. But when it was seen that McClellan, instead of working his way up the James, turned aside to follow up the Chickahominy, some of the citizens recovered from their alarm, and held a meeting and passed resolutions "to stand by the city or lay it in ashes" before it should fall into the hands of the Federals. A strange infatuation seemed to seize the Southern leaders to destroy the property of their own people; lest towns should be occupied by Union soldiers, they would burn them. Thus Magruder had laid in ashes the beautiful village of Hampton on the approach of the Union army. They seemed to act without reason. If they succeeded in separating from the free States, their towns would be safe for themselves; and if they did not succeed, they would only come back under the old flag, when their homes and property would be as secure to their owners as they always had been. In truth, these leaders were very free with not only the property, but with the individual rights of their own people. Their conscription act was cruel in the extreme and enforced without mercy. It read: "Every male citizen between the ages of 18 and 35 is declared *by virtue of his citizenship* to be *in the military service* of the Confederate States." Thus, wherever found, male citizens between these ages could be put in the ranks by the officer

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in command. The loyalty of the South is proved "by the general and continued submission of the people to the impressment system as practiced—such a tyranny, I believe, as no other high-spirited people ever endured."[1] In the free States, when a draft was necessary and ordered, the person thus drafted could furnish a substitute; and the people, having ascertained the quotas of their respective counties or districts, came forward of their own accord and provided the means to pay the men who entered the army; and, if they had families, pledged themselves to support them while the husband was in the field.

General Banks was in the Shenandoah Valley, his troops not exceeding 5,000; as he had been stripped of two divisions, one that of General Shields, sent to General McDowell at Fredericksburgh; the other, General Blenker's, to Fremont, in West Virginia. General Jackson was sent by Johnston, with 15,000 men, to pounce upon Banks, drive him out of the Valley, make a demonstration on Washington, and delay the movements of McClellan. General Banks had a small force stationed at Front Royal to protect the people from roving marauders; this force Jackson attacked, but, warned by a contraband, it fell back, skirmishing all the way toward Winchester, where Banks

May 25.

was. The latter made his arrangements, and at 2 A.M. his troops, artillery, baggage and hospital stores were on their march to the Potomac. This retreat was one continued skirmish, and some severe fighting. Banks deserves credit that, with his limited force, he brought nearly all his train and men safely across the river, and then halted to dispute the passage. Jackson did not linger, for he heard that Generals Shields and Fremont were coming to fall upon his rear, but escaped by great skill and joined Johnston, having accomplished nothing of importance, but lost by death Colonel Ashby, unquestionably the most competent commander of cavalry in the Confederate service. In a few weeks Banks was at his old post.

[1] Johnston's Narrative, p. 425.

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CHAP. LX.

1862. May 28.

As an evidence of the patriotism of the free States, it may be mentioned that when Mr. Lincoln called upon those near at hand for volunteers to repel Jackson and defend the capital, in a few days nearly sixty regiments reported themselves ready to march.

May 21.

The advance of the Union army was slow; it did not reach the Chickahominy until the 21st, when the left wing, unmolested, passed the river at Bottom's Bridge, to the South side, and the right wing remained on the North side; the whole line extending twelve miles to Cold Harbor the extreme right. Says General Barnard, chief-engineer of the Army of the Potomac: "This river, at the season we struck it, was one of the most formidable obstacles that could be opposed to the march of an army." "The stream flows through a belt of heavily timbered swamp, which averages three to four hundred yards wide;" "and the water when but a foot or two above its summer level overspreads the whole swamp."[1]

From the White House—the head quarters—on York river, supplies came on steamers. General McDowell had his division at Fredericksburg, and it was designed, if necessary, that he should join McClellan. The Union army lay in an exposed position from May 21st to the 31st, the left wing south of this dangerous river and the right north; Barnard says, the bridges and pontoons were ready; and the entire right wing of the army could have passed the river any time after the 24th. Should a storm arise, the river swamps would be impassable for either wing; for this storm the enemy waited: it came, and for two days they attacked the left wing furiously. This battle is known as that of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, one of the most bloody contests of the war, in which both armies displayed heroic bravery. The enemy were compelled to retire, and Heintzelman and Sumner wished to march upon Richmond, only five miles distant;—in truth Heintzelman's division reached a point

May 31 and June 1.

[1] Barnard's Report, p. 18.

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within four miles, but the General-in-chief would not permit the movement. Heintzelman, foreseeing the peril of having the army divided by that dangerous river, had given warning days before, of what the enemy evidently intended; and General Sumner on his own responsibility passed the river from the north side on a temporary bridge, and by the presence of his troops the fortunes of the day were saved. These two generals handled their forces independently of each other; there was no supreme authority on the field, as McClellan was seven miles away. The Confederate loss was about 8,000, that of the Federals about 5,000. In this battle General Johnston was severely wounded, and General Robert E. Lee was appointed in his place to the command of the Confederate army in front of Richmond.

After this battle, the Union army remained in its original position. The danger of thus separating the two wings by the river was still the same, and Lee, the new commander, did not fail to take advantage of the blunder. McClellan was still hesitating, it would seem, whether or not to change his base to the James; he now telegraphed to the President that the enemy had 200,000 men. Says one authority, "the Confederate Capital had for its defence but 100,000 men at most." This included those in garrison in the forts around Richmond, while Childe says "on the 20th of June the army of Northern Virginia numbered 70,000 fighting men."[1] From June 1st to the 20th, the right wing of the Union army lay isolated on the north side of the Chickahominy; a tempting bait which Lee laid plans to secure. "The Confederate army covered Richmond, extending from the James river, where its extreme right commenced, to the Chickahominy beyond Meadow Bridge, on which its extreme left abutted." General Huger commanded the right, General Magruder the center and General A. P. Hill the left, while the divisions of Longstreet and D. H. Hill, drawn up behind and beyond the left, were to support, at the fitting

[1] Life of Lee, pp. 75, 77.

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R E Lee

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moment, the turning movement of Jackson. General Lee amused McClellan by making demonstrations on his front, while Jackson, in accordance with orders, was making a long detour to attack the rear of the exposed right wing.

Meanwhile, Lee sent General James E. B. Stuart with a cavalry force to reconnoiter, which he accomplished effectively; bringing confirmation of the exposed condition of the right wing of the Union army. "The Federal forces offered the strange spectacle of an army invading a country and, although superior in numbers and resources, awaiting the attack, instead of pressing forward and engaging itself in conflict."[1] June 12.

McClellan, on the eve of June 26th, fully determined to change his base; but now Jackson was almost ready to attack his right, and it was a far different matter to move with a persistent enemy pressing on the rear than to move unobstructed. During the forty days in the marshes along the Chickahominy, his army was almost decimated by diseases thus contracted. Two days before, June 24th, a deserter brought word that Jackson was preparing to attack the Union army at Mechanicsville, on the extreme right. McClellan sent two trusty negroes to verify the deserter's story. They soon returned, reporting that the enemy's pickets were at Hanover Court House. An attack was evidently impending. At last the resolution was taken to commence changing the base to the James. In the midst of preparations to pass the river, and about 3 P.M., General D. H. Hill's division, 14,000 strong, tired of waiting to hear Jackson's attack, passed the river at Meadow Bridge, and assaulted Fitz John Porter's division at Mechanicsville. Here began the famous "seven days' contest." June 26. June 26.

General Porter, seeing the large force of the enemy, fell back to a strong position at a crossing of Beaver Creek, to which the enemy soon came up and endeavored to cross by the two bridges, but were repulsed from both, one after the

[1] Life of Lee, pp. 79 and 86.

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other; at 9 P. M. the battle ceased, the enemy losing "between three and four thousand; the Federals much less." The way was open, and during the night Longstreet joined Hill, and both moved round Porter's right to unite with Jackson the next day, and to make an attack on McCall's division at Cold Harbor. Learning of this movement McClellan ordered by telegraph that line to be abandoned and a new one taken, extending from near and beyond Gaines' Mill, and to Powhite Swamp, thus covering the approaches to the bridges over the Chickahominy, which must be made in order to change the base. During the night heavy guns were put in position on the South side to protect the bridges, and numerous wagons were passed over. "The delicate operation of withdrawing the troops from Beaver Dam Creek was commenced shortly before daylight, and successfully executed."

General Lee joined his army in the morning, but delayed to attack till he could hear from Jackson's guns; without waiting longer he, however, began the battle at 4 P. M., and it continued till eight. The greatest bravery was displayed on both sides; at half-past five P. M. Jackson came upon the Union lines. The Federals, meanwhile, rushed and charged D. H. Hill's division, and to aid him Lee ordered Longstreet to feign an attack on the center and left of the Federal right wing. But the latter, seeing the strength of the position, found he must make a real attack if he would aid Hill's troops, and "five brigades rushed to the assault in double-quick time, but were received by a fire so terrible that they recoiled cowed." It was just after this that Jackson's troops came upon the ground.

General Porter asked for aid, and General Slocum's division crossed the river to his assistance, and also other troops were sent over. At 6 P. M. the enemy made an attempt to break the Union line, but failed. An hour later they made a still more fierce attack, and gained the woods held by the left of the Federal right wing, and the Union soldiers fell back to a hill in the rear. Darkness came on,

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The enemy, having been repulsed several times, did not press their recent advantage. This battle of Cold Harbor, or Gaines' Mill, was one of the hardest conflicts of the war. "The losses of the two armies were great—from 7,000 to 8,000 on the Confederate side, and from 6,000 to 7,000 on that of the Federals."[1] The Confederates persist in calling the movements of the subsequent days a retreat; but the Federals call it a change of base, though undertaken too late. CHAP. LX. 1862.

During the time this battle was in progress on the North side of the Chickahominy, the enemy were making demonstration on the South side, in front of Heintzelman's, Keyes' and Sumner's corps.

According to Childe the number of Confederates thus threatening amounted to only 25,000, while the number of Union soldiers held waiting was 70,000. Says Magruder in his report: "Had McClellan massed his whole force in column, and advanced it against any point of our line of battle, its momentum would have insured him success and the occupation of our works about Richmond." And Barnard says: "As it was, the enemy fought with his *whole* force (except enough left before our lines to keep up appearances), and we fought with 27,000 men." The Commander-in-Chief's movements were all interfered with by his absurd belief of the superior numbers of the enemy.

During the following night the Union troops were withdrawn from the north side of the Chickahominy; the trains, having passed over the day before, were far on their way toward the James. All the bridges over the river were blown to pieces to prevent the enemy's crossing. It is singular that not until this Friday evening did the corps commanders learn that they were to "make a flank movement to the James river." June 28.

To abandon strong fortifications on which they had spent twenty days of hard labor had a depressing effect on

[1] Life of Lee, p. 97.

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the soldiers, yet they bore up manfully under the disappointment, though they had been at one time within four miles of Richmond. Notwithstanding this depression, in the three succeeding battles of Savage Station, Glendale, White Oak Swamp and Malvern Hill, the last and most important, they manifested marvelous courage and endurance. On the morning after the battle of Gaines' Mill McClellan wrote to the Secretary of War a letter closing in the following singular terms: "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you, or to any other persons in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army." The incompetency in leading and directing this unfortunate army, time has placed elsewhere than with the Secretary of War.

June 29–30. July 1.

General Porter's corps rested for a few hours, then pressed forward toward the James, through the White Oak Swamp. Nearly 600 wounded men, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, were left under a flag of truce at Savage Station, "with a proper complement of surgeons and attendants, and a bountiful supply of rations and medical stores." The whole Union army withdrew, slowly and deliberately, and the enemy followed after, but were repulsed from time to time, when they made attacks, and in no instance did they in the main delay the withdrawal; for the corps commanders (as the Commander-in-Chief was in the advance) managed, under general orders, to take turns in repelling the enemy and holding them in check until the portion of the army in motion moved to a certain point, then those that held the opposing force in check passed on, while fresh troops awaited in well-chosen positions the approaching enemy. A part of the rebel army made detours by taking country roads, but when they came upon the line of march of the Union army they found it prepared to meet any assault. In this withdrawal the Confederate army lost many more soldiers than the Federal. Finally the advance reached Malvern Hill, on which McClellan arranged to make a stand. General Franklin held "Stonewall"

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Jackson in check for half a day at White Oak Swamp bridge, then at 10 P.M., without orders, but with wisdom, withdrew: General Sumner of his own will followed, then Heintzelman and then Hooker, and early in the morning they took their position on Malvern Hill. This hill, 16 miles below Richmond, "is an elevated plateau about a mile and half long by three-fourths wide, and well cleared of timber, and with several converging roads running over it." On this plateau was the Union army, center and left, right extending to cover the passage to Harrison's Landing; thither the trains had passed the night before. On the hill sixty pieces of field artillery were placed in position; and also ten siege guns. This decision to make a stand on Malvern Hill Barnard says "probably saved the army of the Potomac from destruction." CHAP. LX. 1862.

Lee, who had been laboring for days to unite his whole army that he might, as usual, attack weak points in force, now found himself in position with his entire army, 60,000 or 70,000 strong under their respective commanders. He resolved to envelope the position of the Union army, but delayed the attack till 4 P.M., as he seems not to have had his preparations made; meanwhile, the Union soldiers of their own accord were throwing up numerous earthworks to defend certain positions. The attack was made on the Union left; the Confederates advancing their batteries in an open field, in front of woods where lay the men to storm the Union lines when their batteries had silenced the Federal guns. But their own batteries were soon disabled by the well-directed fire of the Union artillery, and the storming column had no opportunity to carry out their orders. "Instead of ordering up a hundred or two hundred pieces of artillery to play on the Yankees, a single battery was ordered up and knocked to pieces in a few minutes; one or two others shared the same fate," says Hill in his report. July 1.

"At six o'clock General D. H. Hill, deceived by what he thought was the signal for the attack, charged with all

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his division; but finding himself unsupported, although Jackson might have hastened to his aid, he was obliged to retire with great loss. Magruder also, on the Confederate right, made an attempt which ended like Hill's. The flux and reflux of the rival armies lasted till night."[1] The gunboats joined in the fray, and made great havoc in the ranks of the Confederates. The Union army, according to the original design, withdrew to Harrison's Landing; and the following night Lee fell back with his shattered troops to the Richmond fortifications. This ended the seven days' fighting and fearful loss of life, and the campaign became famous as the great failure of the war. The Union loss in killed, wounded and missing was 15,349; the Confederate, 19,533.

The most numerous and best drilled army of the nation had accomplished virtually nothing. With but one exception —Williamsburg—it had never been led against the enemy, but, on the contrary, stood on the defensive. It was kept from May 25th to July 1st in the swamps along the Chickahominy, where, amid the malarious influences and the broiling sun, the men became enervated to an unprecedented degree. Yet be it said to the immortal honor of the soldiers and officers composing this army, that they fulfilled their duty to their country, and under the most trying circumstances. They in every sense were the equals of their Western fellows who had been so much more successful. Prince De Joinville says: "If their primitive organization had been better, the survivors of this rude campaign, I do not fear to assert, might be regarded as the equals of the best soldiers in the world."[2] "An army which was able in the midst of so many trials and disasters to continue fighting all day, and marching all night, enduring its defeats bravely and without flinching, deserves the respect and admiration of both friends and foes."[3]

[1] Life of Lee, p. 108.
[2] De Joinville's Army of the Potomac, p. 96.
[3] Life of Lee, p. 110.

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McClellan at once asked for more men, and the government sent a sufficient number to make in the aggregate, by July 20th, 101,691 men, present for active service. The President issued a call for 300,000 more men; and he also, to secure greater efficiency, consolidated the three small armies of McDowell, Banks and Fremont, to the command of which—known as the "Army of Virginia"—he appointed General John Pope. He was directed to cover Washington, as the way was open for a Confederate march on the National Capital, and McClellan by his position could offer no obstruction to such a movement. In truth, the enemy, emboldened by his inaction, resolved to try for Washington, and at least force his recall from the James. General Halleck, at the recommendation of General Scott, was appointed "to the command of the whole land forces of the United States as commander-in-chief." Halleck assumed command, and after a Cabinet council visited the army on the James to judge for himself whether it should be withdrawn or not. "The majority of the officers expressed themselves in favor of the withdrawal." The men had become so weakened because of the hot weather and the malaria of the swamps that they were unfit to enter upon an advance.

July 22.

Pope's army when he took the field amounted to 42,000 men; 5,000 of whom were cavalry—the latter somewhat inefficient from want of drill and concentration. Detachments of cavalry reconnoitered and reported the enemy in force on the Rapidan and also at Madison Court House. Pope interposed his forces between them and the National Capital. The movements of the Confederates puzzled the Union generals. Their presence was made known by an attack on General Banks. They arranged their forces in such a manner as to amount almost to an ambuscade, into which the Federals fell. At about 3 P.M. the battle began, and soon became general. At 6 o'clock Pope came upon the field and made some changes of position, which the enemy mistook for a retreat, and pressed on

July 29.

Aug. 9.

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CHAP. LX. 1862. Aug. 11. and came into an open field and exposed themselves to a very destructive fire of artillery, which drove them back to their covert of scrub-oak. Night came on, and Jackson fell back and disappointed the Federals, who in the morning expected to attack him. Jackson continued to retreat till he reached the south side of the Rapidan, leaving his badly wounded under a flag of truce. This is known as the battle of Cedar Mountain.

A few days afterward Pope learned, from papers found on Stuart's adjutant, who had been captured, that the plans of the enemy were to march on Washington. Halleck telegraphed an order to McClellan to bring his army from the James to Washington. The latter asked that the order might be rescinded, and an advance on Richmond made by way of Petersburg. That movement was available two months before, but it was now too late, and Halleck insisted upon the order being obeyed, and it was complied with in a tardy manner. Halleck had already ordered the wounded and sick soldiers to be brought to northern hospitals, to remove all obstructions to active operations.

At a convocation of the Governors of the loyal States it was recommended to the President to call for 300,000 more men. The people of these States, though greatly disappointed and mortified at the sad failure, nevertheless labored with their usual energy to recruit the army and sustain the Government. When Lee learned of this, and that the army of the Potomac was ordered back to its old quarters, he acted promptly, sending a force under Jackson to crush Pope's army before it could be reinforced either by the new levies or by McClellan's army. He sent forward all the troops that could be spared from the fortifications at Richmond, leaving there only the inexperienced. Pope, learning of the number of the enemy in his front, fell back from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, at all the fords of which they were checked. Soon the great mass of the Confederate army disappeared; Jackson was making an unusual detour to reach the Shenandoah Valley and

Aug. 15.

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come in on the rear of Pope's army. The latter divined the movement and wrote to that effect to McDowell. Meanwhile, Jackson was pressing on over fields and bad roads, and appeared suddenly at Thoroughfare Gap, where the railway of Manassas Gap crosses the hills of Bull Run. Thoroughfare Gap was unoccupied, and Jackson, passing through, sent a detachment which overpowered the little garrison at Manassas Junction, and the hungry Confederates reveled in the provisions on hand at that important point. The next day, Longstreet, with his division, joined Jackson; with him came Lee, who assumed command. Pope now came up with his forces. They had been marching and countermarching for ten days to find the enemy, and were weary. His army amounted to about 54,000 men, and not more than 500 effective cavalry; Lee's army to 70,000 effective men, according to Childe's account. Pope pressed on as Jackson withdrew from the Junction, and prepared to give battle on the old Manassas ground, of July 21, 1861.

Gen. Sigel at 10 A.M. commenced the fight; the position of the enemy was well chosen behind the embankment of a railroad, and the Federal arrangements were equally as well made. The struggle was very severe during the day, and in the end was a drawn battle, though the Confederates were driven back and the Federals occupied the field. There was want of concert in the attack and movements of the Union divisions; some of them did not carry out their orders fully, as, for instance, Fitz John Porter's "forces took no part whatever in the action, but were suffered by him to lie idle on their arms, within sight and sound of the battle during the whole day." Had he come into it with his 10,000 fresh men, no doubt the victory would have been complete. This was the second time within two days that Porter had delayed or refused to obey Gen. Pope. He was afterward tried by court-martial for this conduct and severely censured.

Aug. 29.

The next day, about noon, the conflict was renewed:

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CHAP. LX. 1862. Aug. 30. the line of battle was nearly five miles long. Porter's division now taking part and fighting bravely, and other divisions, such as Heintzelman's and Reno's, maintaining their old reputation for persistent bravery and endurance. The contest extended along the line and raged for several hours; the Confederates bringing up heavy reserves, and hurling mass after mass of troops upon the Federal left. These persistent efforts forced the left back one-half or three-fourths of a mile, but at dark they made a stand firm and unbroken. If the forces of McClellan had been at Acquia Creek by the 20th of August, as ordered, they could have easily aided in this second battle of Bull Run; but tardiness was the bane of that brave but unfortunate army; and again there was want of harmony among the commanders of division, owing, it was said, to rivalries.

Pope fell back to the intrenchments at Centerville, and Sept. 2. within a day or two retired to the defenses of the Capital, on the way to which was the severe skirmish of Chantilly, in which two most excellent officers were killed—General Stevens and General Kearney. General Pope asked to be relieved of further service in that department. The Union losses in all these conflicts amounted to nearly 15,000 men, killed, wounded and missing; the Confederates lost between nine and ten thousand. These disasters caused the most intense excitement in the loyal States; they were altogether so uncalled for and unexpected that the people were taken by surprise. But the effect was to rouse them to greater exertions and sacrifices than ever before.

A party in the Confederacy had urged that their armies should take the offensive rather than the defensive; and such had been the policy along the line of the Western Border States; but in these their efforts had signally failed. Now the want of success of the Army of the Potomac and the withdrawal of Pope's army induced Lee of his own Sept. 4. accord to push on his army, his vanguard crossing the Potomac at the mouth of Monocacy Creek; three days after the advance was at Frederick, Maryland.

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While the Confederates were thus moving, great confusion reigned at Washington and vicinity. General McClellan, in virtue of his position in his army and by direction of the President, took command of all the forces thus demoralized in and around the capital, and displayed his remarkable talents as an organizer by soon bringing order out of confusion. The Union army in a few days was prepared to place itself between the invading foe and the capital, and also to guard Baltimore. The army moved in the direction of the enemy; Burnside led the left, Sumner the center, and Franklin the right.

General Lee and his officers were greatly chagrined because the people of Maryland did not hasten to join the Confederates, though Lee had issued a moving proclamation, and laid before them in expressive terms the sorrows they endured from the oppressions of the United States Government; but they—poor people—did not view it in that light.

At Harper's Ferry was General Miles with 11,500 men; he had been assured that aid would be sent him. But Lee was unwilling to leave this force in his rear, and says he, "The advance of the Federal army was so slow as to justify the belief that the reduction of Harper's Ferry would be accomplished, and our troops concentrated before they would be called on to meet it." Accordingly he sent Jackson, who moved rapidly, seized the heights that commanded the Ferry, and compelled a surrender of the garrison—the aid coming just thirty hours too late. The cavalry, however, escaped, and, on its way to join the Union army, captured an important train of wagons belonging to the enemy. Sept. 15.

The Union advance entered Frederick, in which place was found an order of Lee's, dated the 9th, to his subordinate generals, fully explaining his future movements. McClellan availed himself of this information, and ordered his entire force to certain points. There are two passes or gaps through the South Mountain—name given to the Blue Ridge north of the Potomac—Crampton and Turn-

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er's, within five miles of each other. The former of these General Franklin was ordered to seize, which he did after a sharp conflict, and passed through into Pleasant Valley to find the enemy in force. Burnside also had reached Turner's Gap and found it held by D. H. Hill, with a strong force, and the crest of the mountain for a mile. The battle commenced by a cannonade at daylight, lasting all day. The enemy withdrew the next night, having lost about 2,500 men. They next appeared drawn up on the west side of Antietam Creek, professing to have gained their point in holding the Gap until Jackson could return from Harper's Ferry. In this battle was killed General Reno, a great loss to the Union army.

Sept. 14.

General Lee's position was very strong, with the creek in his front, Sharpsburg village one mile in his rear on the way to the Potomac, over which, in case of disaster, he could retreat. Over the creek were three stone bridges in a distance of nearly four miles. Lee's army faced east, and on his right he placed Longstreet, opposite the south bridge, then came D. H. Hill, then Hood, and then north of him, Jackson. McClellan's army faced west, and its left was opposite Longstreet and the south bridge. Here was placed Burnside's corps, then came Porter's in the centre, then Hooker's, and a portion of Sumner's on the right.

Sept. 16.

The bridge on the Union extreme right, and also a ford, were unguarded, and in the afternoon, Hooker, in obedience to orders, crossed the bridge and ford without opposition; but Lee had placed two of Hood's brigades under cover of the woods to receive the Federals as they moved southwest toward their line, and here the combat commenced. By this time it was dark and nothing decisive was done, both parties remaining in the woods. Hood's troops were relieved by a portion of Jackson's forces, and General Mansfield crossed the Antietam and joined Hooker, while Sumner had orders to cross at daylight.

The sun rose clear and bright, and early in the morning the conflict began in earnest, Hooker taking the initiative.

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The assault was made by his centre division—Pennsylvania Reserves—under General Meade. The attack was so furious that after an hour's fighting, with the aid of the batteries on the east side of the creek, the enemy were forced to give way and retreat across an open field, beyond which were woods where they took shelter. Hooker advanced his centre and left over the open field, but when they approached the woods the enemy re-formed, and being reinforced, met them in the open plain with the most determined vigor. Both equally brave, this was one of the most terrible conflicts of the war, and continued until both sides, exhausted, retired as if by mutual consent. Sept. 17.

The Confederates had suffered greatly; several excellent officers had been slain or mortally wounded. Hooker's division had been almost broken to pieces; he called for Mansfield's division, which came on the ground about half-past 7 A. M. Meanwhile, the Confederates had been reinforced by D. H. Hill's division, which had been resting in the woods. Now commenced another bitter conflict. Hooker's broken corps and Mansfield's division were forced across the open field to the woods, and there they held their ground. The brave Mansfield was killed as he went to the front to examine the position, and Hooker, severely wounded, was carried from the field. At this time, 9 A. M., General Sumner brought up his corps, and drove one portion of the enemy back to the woods, and another portion was withdrawn. These, again reinforced, made an attack upon Sumner's right, which was much advanced, under Sedgwick, and drove it back; then the Confederates retired to a safe position in the rear at 11 A. M. Thus, between the rebel left and Union right was the conflict into which were sent reinforcements by both Lee and McClellan. Little was done by either the right or the center of the Union army in the afternoon.

Thus far nothing had been done on the Union left. At 8 A.M. Burnside had been ordered to force the lower bridge, and occupy the Sharpsburg heights; but not till 1 P.M. was

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the bridge carried, and not till two hours afterward were the heights captured, and without much struggle. The guns of the enemy had fully commanded the west end of the bridge; Burnside held the heights for a few hours, and then fell back to the bridge.

The next day each army rested; McClellan was reinforced by two divisions, and Lee was satisfied to hold his position. During the following night he withdrew, and the next day crossed the Potomac unmolested. McClellan was urged by the authorities at Washington to pursue and harass the enemy while the roads were good, but he was not ready, and the golden opportunity was lost to crush Lee's army, or drive it on its way to Richmond a disorganized force. Finally the President visited the army himself, and was convinced that it could move as well as Lee's, and, on his return, consulting with the Secretary of War and General Halleck, he sent a peremptory order to cross the Potomac and attack the enemy, lying in the vicinity of Winchester and Martinsburg.

Sept. 19.

Oct. 1.

Oct. 6.

Lee, emboldened by McClellan's inactivity, sent Stuart on a raid, with nearly 2,000 cavalry, into Pennsylvania. He made a complete sweep around the Union army, passing through Mercersburg, Chambersburg, and several other places, levying contributions on them all, and finally crossed the Potomac safely, scarcely losing a man.

Oct. 10.

McClellan did not obey the order of his superior officer, the President, given October 6th, but still lingered, and the President wrote him a letter, dated October 16th, in which he says: "Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you can not do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess and act upon the claim?" This expostulatory letter was written in the kindest spirit.

Oct. 16.

McClellan at that time had an army of 130,000 men, yet he did not move, giving one excuse after another, for the most part trivial. As in the fall of the year before, he permitted the fine weather to pass without putting his

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army in motion; at length the patient President removed him from the command of the army, and ordered him to report at Trenton, N. J., his home, and appointed General A. E. Burnside to succeed him. CHAP. LX. 1862. Nov. 5.

General Burnside thought it better for the army to move direct to Fredericksburg, and crossing the river, force their way to Richmond. General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief, in an interview with Burnside disapproved of the movement, but finally consented and returned to Washington with the understanding that pontoon bridges should be sent across the country to Fredericksburg for the army to pass over. The army moved at once toward that point. while the enemy were deceived by demonstrations at several places; but when the army arrived opposite Fredericksburg the pontoons had not come; by an inexcusable blundering the proper officers had failed to send them. The object was to seize the heights in the rear of the town, and if storms came on go into winter quarters and then in the spring push on to Richmond. Nov. 15.

While Burnside was waiting for the pontoons General Lee arrived with Longstreet's division, soon followed by others, and began to fortify the heights. Meanwhile, rains came and the Rappahannock was much swollen. Finally, the pontoons were laid in the afternoon, under the fire of sharpshooters and artillery. The crossings were to be made at three points the next morning, above the town, opposite and below, and the attack to follow. The crossings were made in a very heroic manner, but under great disadvantages to the Federals from the position of the enemy and their numbers, for their whole army was on those heights. Dec. 12.

The Federal right made a series of assaults upon the enemy's entrenched line, nearly five miles long and crowned with field artillery. The Union heavy batteries on Stafford Heights on the North side of the river could scarcely reach this entrenched line; between this line and the river was an open space within range of a double row of rifle-pits and

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a strong infantry force concealed right and left. Against these the Union soldiers were led; it is marvelous that so few of them were killed, and that they inflicted so much injury upon the Confederates. Assault after assault was made, and the brave Union soldiers rushed heroically into this arena of death. In no other instance in the war were Union soldiers led so recklessly. Night came on and the conflict closed. Only about 25,000 of Lee's troops were engaged, and they behind entrenchments. Two days passed without any special movement being made by either army, except the Federal batteries on Stafford Heights kept up a cannonade on the enemy's entrenchments. The next night came on a violent storm, during which Burnside skillfully withdrew his army to the North side of the Rappahannock. The Confederates lost 4,101 killed and wounded, and the Union army 10,233.

Dec. 15.

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CHAPTER LXI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Invasion of Kentucky.—Buell's March.—Battle of Perryville.—Battle of Iuka.—Preliminary Proclamation.—Opposition; the Effect.—The Slave's Hope.—Battle of Murfreesboro.—Confederate Failures.—Expedition up the Yazoo.—Capture of Fort Hindman.—Galveston Occupied.—President's Message.—Finances.—Northern Industries.—Confederate Finances.—Battle of Chancellorville.—Death of Stonewall Jackson.—Withdrawal of the Army.

CHAP. LXI.

1862.

We return to the West. The Union army took possession of Corinth, on the Memphis and Charleston Railway. The same day General Halleck sent the Army of the Ohio under General Buell toward Chattanooga, an important strategic position on the same road in East Tennessee, two hundred miles east of Corinth; he also ordered General Grant to protect West Tennessee, and to operate from Memphis against Vicksburg. Buell was to pass along the road, put it in repair, and by that route receive his supplies. General O. M. Mitchel had previously held a portion of the same road, and had advanced into North Alabama, occupying Decatur and Florence, and General G. W. Morgan had also seized Cumberland Gap, the gate of East Tennessee.

May 30.

These commands, when united with Buell's force, amounted to about 40,000 men—not half enough to accomplish what was required. In truth, these commands were depleted to augment the army around Washington. Meanwhile, the Confederates planned to cause Buell's withdrawal

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from his position. They determined to pass to his rear, invade Kentucky, threatening both Cincinnati and Louisville, and force him to return for the latter's protection. And General Bragg, who had superseded Beauregard, and General Kirby Smith, with about 50,000 men, invaded Southeastern Kentucky and advanced toward the Ohio, pillaging as they went; while John Morgan and Forrest, each having about 1,500 cavalry, were riding and driving in every direction, plundering villages in the same region, defeating small parties of Union men, and destroying bridges. Buell was ordered to cross the State of Tennessee and meet these forces, and drive them out of Kentucky. He moved from North Alabama as speedily as possible, and came into the State three days behind Bragg, who had made a push from Glasgow toward Louisville to find General Nelson prepared to repel him, and he prudently fell back to Bardstown to unite with Kirby Smith, lest Buell should overtake him. The latter arrived at Louisville, and as soon as possible went in pursuit, thus interfering very much with the enemy's plans of carrying off plunder, for which they had impressed all the wagons, mules, horses, and slaves of the country. They found they must fight, and they made a stand at Perryville. Buell came up and a severe battle was fought, with various success during the day, but at the close the Federals had a decided advantage and made preparations to attack the enemy vigorously in the morning; but during the night the Confederates left their position and fell back to Harrodsburg. Thence Bragg continued his retreat from the State, disappearing through Cumberland Gap, to reappear in Middle Tennessee, in the vicinity of Murfreesboro, some months afterward. Buell was relieved of his command and General Rosecrans appointed to succeed him. He was of the over-cautious school; a most excellent disciplinarian, but failed sometimes to make a dash.

Sept. 26.

Oct. 8.

Oct. 30.

The failure of Bragg and Smith in Kentucky caused the greatest chagrin throughout the Confederacy. Their

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programme had been to recover Kentucky and drive the Federals out of West Tennessee and reoccupy Fort Donelson. This plan was sadly interfered with, first at Iuka, Miss., where Rosecrans defeated Sterling Price and captured 1,000 prisoners; and the same Union general treated the Confederates still more severely at Corinth. In this fight the enemy, under Generals Van Dorn, Price, Lovel, and Rust, had about 38,000 men, according to their own estimate; the Union force was about half that number. They retreated in haste, leaving on the field their dead, 1,423; wounded, 5,692; and prisoners, 2,248; the Union loss was only 315 killed and 1,812 wounded. So dissatisfied were the authorities at Richmond that General Van Dorn was relieved and John C. Pemberton appointed to succeed him.

Sept. 20.

Oct. 4.

After the battle of Antietam the President issued, on September 22d, a preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation of the slaves belonging to those engaged in the rebellion, to take place January 1, 1863, unless the States thus engaged should be "in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated." This "shall be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States." Here was an offer to the insurgent States to lay down their arms within one hundred days, and save their slaves. But the same infatuation still prevailed; they would make no concessions; encouraged by the hope that the people of the free States would become divided on the question of emancipation, and in the end they would secure a separation from the Union.

Sept. 22.

This was pre-eminently a war measure; for the slaves laboring by thousands on rebel fortifications, or in cultivating the fields at home while their masters were in the Confederate armies, were as useful to the rebellion as if they were soldiers in their army itself; and the slave became as

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"contraband" of war, as a horse used to draw artillery on the field of battle, or carry a trooper on his raids.

The opposition made in the North to this measure strengthened the hands of the leaders of the rebellion immensely, and served to prolong the contest. It was confidently asserted that this offer of freedom would lead to insurrections and massacres, rapine and outrage, on the part of the slaves; all of which was utterly disproved by the events that followed. Those who had prophesied these direful things had taken the San Domingo insurrection with its untold horrors as a type; these negroes were virtually savages, great numbers of whom were natives of Africa itself, stolen thence and consigned to slavery; having been deprived of the sweets of liberty, they felt more keenly the contrast than if they had always been in servitude. With the slaves of the South it was far different. They, indeed, longed for liberty, but they looked for it through the intervention of others; they drew their hopes from the case of the Israelites led from Egypt by the hand of Moses; they trusted God would come to their aid in a similiar way—raise up for them a Moses; and in this trust in Providence their faith was marvelous. The gospel of forgiveness had been preached to them by preachers both of the white race and their own, and the truths of the Bible, thus orally presented, had a wonderful influence in preparing them for the events about to follow. Nor must we think they were entirely unaware of the discussions on the subject of slavery and their own freedom which for so many years had agitated the country. The discussions on political subjects at their masters' tables were carefully treasured up by the reticent slave in waiting, and as carefully related to his fellows outside, and they communicated the same from one to another in a remarkable manner. The people of the South owe the deepest gratitude to the slaves for their wonderful moderation under the circumstances; it is the highest credit to their humanity and kindly disposition that they committed no outrages on the families left under

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their protection, but with few exceptions labored in good faith for their support.

When Bragg retreated from Kentucky, he took a long detour by way of Chattanooga to invade Middle Tennessee. General Rosecrans gradually moved in the same direction, sending forward several divisions of his army to Nashville. It was ascertained the invaders were concentrating south of that city in the vicinity of Murfreesboro, and that they had taken position on the west side of Stone River, a crooked stream whose general course is from the south toward the north. General Rosecrans, after many maneuvers to learn the enemy's position, made his arrangements to fall upon the right of the Confederates with a force sufficient to crush and drive them back upon their center. A citizen of the neighborhood was captured and brought to General McCook, who commanded the Federal right. The citizen said the enemy were *massing* their men on their left; it was not possible for want of time to verify the statement. General McCook, in reply to a question of Rosecrans, thought he could hold his position for three hours. In the morning these masses of the enemy rushed upon Rosecrans' right—McCook's position. Bragg had learned the plan of battle designed by the Union commander, or it may have been a coincidence. Rosecrans had advanced to fall upon the enemy's right, when he was arrested by the noise of a severe fight upon his own right; and soon came a messenger from McCook, stating that he had been attacked by overpowering forces, was pressed and needed assistance. Rosecrans answered: "Tell him to contest every inch of ground. If he holds them, we will swing into Murfreesboro with our left and cut them off." Soon, however, it was evident to Rosecrans that he must change his original plan and hasten to sustain his own right, which had already been driven, though sullenly, some distance. The Confederates came upon the troops under Sheridan. Here he displayed that remarkable promptness and skill which he

Dec. 15.

Dec. 31.

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CHAP. LXI. 1862. afterward so often showed. The enemy advanced across an open field and in compact mass. Upon them he trained three batteries with terrific effect, yet they closed their ranks and pressed on to within fifty yards or so of the woods in which the Union infantry lay under cover, when suddenly the latter rose to their feet and poured in such destructive volleys that they broke and fled. General Sill charged and drove them across the field and until they found shelter in their entrenchments. In this charge the gallant Sill lost his life.

Other divisions moved against Sheridan's position, but he undauntedly changed his front and repelled them. In an hour's time came another assault, for which he prepared by planting his batteries to sweep the advancing columns. Twice more he was assaulted, but repelled the enemy with great loss. It was now three hours since the battle began, and Rosecrans came on the field. New dispositions were made by both armies, and severe fighting occurred at different points. Finally the Confederates made their last assault, to find themselves subjected to so destructive an artillery fire that when within three hundred yards they broke and hastily retired to their entrenchments. This ended the conflict of that day. The armies lay watching each other for two days. A sharp skirmish occurred on the second, in which the rebels were worsted. The following night Bragg led off his disappointed army toward the South. Every attempt the Confederates had made of an aggressive character had totally failed from Antietam to Murfreesboro. The influence of this battle was very discouraging to the leaders of the rebellion, and even more to their people. The Union army engaged amounted to 43,400 and Bragg's about 60,000. The Union loss, killed and wounded, 8,778 ; the Confederate loss more than 10,000 killed and wounded, and 1,700 prisoners.

1863. Jan. 2.

General Grant, whose headquarters were at Memphis, was directing his efforts to open the Mississippi ; his special

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object for that purpose was the reduction of Vicksburg, the "Gibraltar of the Confederacy." In the latter part of November he set out with an army to take Vicksburg in the rear by capturing Jackson—forty-six miles east—the capital of the State, while Sherman was to pass down the river from Memphis in transports and steamers convoyed by Porter's gunboats, then up the Yazoo to a certain point, and there land and make a junction with Grant's forces. The latter moved by way of Holly Springs, which place the enemy evacuated on his approach; he passed on to find them drawn up for battle on the other side of the Tallahatchie river. He flanked them and they fell back to Abbeville, out of which they were driven; the column moved on to Oxford. There he halted for an accumulation of supplies at Holly Springs, but Van Dorn, with his cavalry, surprised the regiment guarding these supplies and most effectually destroyed them. The destruction of these stores necessitated Grant to fall back and give up that plan of attack.

CHAP. LXI. 1863. 1862. Dec. 2. Dec. 20.

But Sherman, not aware of this mishap, passed twelve miles up the Yazoo and found the Confederates in force at Hayne's Bluff, a strongly fortified place, and commanding the river and any approach by land. Instead of the coöperation of Grant, Sherman found the enemy's entire force free to oppose him on the Yazoo. He made a vigorous attack, but so amply were they prepared to repel any force that he was compelled to withdraw, sustaining a loss of nearly 2,000 men; retiring down to the Mississippi, and opposite the mouth of the Yazoo at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend, the army was concentrated twelve miles above Vicksburg. Grant took his forces from Memphis down the river to the same place.

Dec. 29.

While waiting for Grant and his forces, General McClernand, who was in temporary command, captured Fort Hindman, at Arkansas Post, fifty miles from the mouth of that river. The expedition was well planned; the troops being on board steamers, Porter convoyed them with his

1863. Jan. 11.

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CHAP. LXI. 1863. gunboats and rams. The troops landed three miles below the Fort and invested it as soon as possible, while Porter passed up to close range; the conflict was sharp and decisive; soon a white flag appeared, the fort was surrendered and with it all the war material and 5,000 prisoners.

Feb. 2. General Grant arrived at Young's Point with his forces and assumed command, and in due time prosecuted his designs against Vicksburg.

1862. Dec. 16. General Banks sent a force from New Orleans to recover and occupy Baton Rouge. The garrison withdrew up the river to Port Hudson, soon to become fortified to such a degree as to be second only to Vicksburg. He also sent an expedition to occupy Galveston, Texas, under the protection of the gunboats. The force landed and took possession.

1863. Jan. 1. The Confederates made an attack by land and by water with three powerful rams. The *Harriet Lane* was captured, her commander, Wainwright, being killed. The *Westfield*, the flag-ship, was aground and prepared to be blown up, but as Commander Renshaw, the last to leave, was stepping off she prematurely blew up, killing that most efficient officer.

1862. Dec. 1. Congress assembled, and in his annual message President Lincoln proposed compensation for slaves freed under certain restrictions; that those who were not disloyal to the Government should be thus compensated; that slaves once freed by the contingency of war should never be reduced to servitude. This message the Southern leaders either passed over in silence or published garbled extracts, accompanied with sneers of contempt. The mass of the people were not permitted to see the whole message.

1863. Jan. 1. On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln, in accordance with his pledge, unless the insurgents should lay down their arms, issued his final decree of Emancipation. From its results this has become famous as a landmark of human progress. He closed by saying: "Upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon grounds of military necessity, I invite the con-

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siderate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God." This decree was hailed with enthusiasm in the free States by those who desired the rebellion to be suppressed unconditionally, but was proclaimed by those who wished in some way to stop the rebellion, even by a compromise with armed rebels, as unconstitutional, and all that. The converse of this was, that it was constitutional for the Confederates to use their slaves to aid them in resisting the Government in its legitimate authority. Now there is scarcely an individual, even in the former Slave States, but looks upon the abolition of the system as a great blessing to the South, as well as to the whole nation.

No one in passing through the free States at this time, and seeing the industrial activity, would have suspected that the nation was engaged in civil war, at the cost of more than a million of dollars a day, and more than five hundred thousand men withdrawn from the active duties of life. A tariff higher than usual had been imposed on imports to meet, to some extent, these extraordinary expenses, and the people entered upon manufacturing industries with unprecedented zeal, and the busy hum of work was heard over the land. These resources were, however, insufficient to defray the enormous expenses, and Congress authorized the emission of United States notes, known as greenbacks, to the amount of $150,000,000, and also bonds to the amount of $500,000,000; the latter bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. These were offered in small sums to the people at large, and they came forward with wonderful unanimity to aid in the cause by furnishing the sinews of war. Nothing was more astonishing than what might be called the reserved resources of the free States.

Taxes—for the emergency—were imposed upon incomes and manufactures. Thus, what was lost by the falling off of import duties was more than gained by domestic taxes. And, what was still more beneficial, the people had employment in the introduction of new industries, or the more extensive prosecution of the old. Taxes were imposed—

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paid by stamps—on bonds, mortgages, deeds, and numerous commercial transactions. These onerous taxes were repealed or lightened as soon as the Government could afford it. In some instances, foreign manufacturers found it for their pecuniary interest to transfer their machinery and works to this country, thus increasing opportunities of employment to our own working people. After the suspension of specie payments the premium on gold rose and fell, and thus interfered very much with the regular prices of merchandise and of wages.

It is well to glance at the condition of the Confederacy at this time. Their debt was already six hundred million dollars, this was the amount of their scrip afloat, which the people were compelled to take in exchange for what the government wanted. This scrip was only payable on the contingency of a separation from and peace with the United States. A very heavy direct tax was levied upon the country, to defray current expenses, and to furnish a redemption fund for the scrip to be redeemed at the rate of one dollar for three, thus repudiating two-thirds of their debt. Of their efforts to obtain a foreign loan every one utterly failed; their cotton and tobacco could not be exported because of the blockade, and for the same reason English blockade runners could not come in, while so many of them had been captured with their valuable cargoes that they almost gave up the attempt.

Jan. 26.

General Burnside at his own request was relieved of his command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Joseph Hooker entered upon his duties as his successor. This was an experiment to find the right man, and as the soldiers characterized Hooker as "Fighting Joe," it was hoped he would be successful. There was great want of harmony among the officers of this unfortunate army—for which the soldiers were not to blame—unjust criticism by subordinates in respect to superiors, and lack of cheerful and prompt obedience to orders. A great many changes of officers, and also dismissals, were made in order to secure obedience and

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competency. The army was reorganized; an important change was made in the increase and drilling of the cavalry force, which numbered 12,000; and the entire army, when ready to take the field, 120,000. It was still opposite Fredericksburg; and Lee kept guard at the fords of the Rappahannock for twenty-five miles, holding a very defensive position. He had sent Longstreet with 24,000 men to guard the approach to Richmond by the James river, he himself having 47,000 effective men; but their defensive position made them equal to three times that number. CHAP. LXI. 1862.

Hooker, finding the fords in front well guarded, resolved to pass up the river twenty-seven miles, and there cross and move rapidly to Chancellorsville—eleven miles southwest from Fredericksburg—a country inn where four important roads meet. The army moved rapidly, and on the second day passed over on pontoon bridges laid for the purpose. The march to Chancellor's commenced at once; they came to the Rapidan at a place where the water was about four feet deep; they did not delay for pontoons, but stripping by divisions plunged in, and, carrying their clothes and arms and rations above the water, passed over, and clothing themselves in the same order were soon on the move. The crossing continued all night long, and in the morning all were safely over. The afternoon of the same day they arrived at Chancellor's. The forces there were surprised and driven back toward Lee's main army, and an advanced position of great importance was secured by General Sykes' regulars, from which he was ordered back—a grievous error, as it afterward proved. Thus far all had been successful in their movements, and Hooker, over-sanguine, exclaimed: "The rebel army belongs to the army of the Potomac!" Other divisions were signaled and passed the Rappahannock on pontoons with but little opposition and marched toward Chancellor's. General Sedgwick had, according to orders, crossed below Fredericksburg and made demonstrations on the Confederates' extreme right. Apr. 27-29.

Lee, perceiving this latter to be a feint, left 6,000 men

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to guard the fortifications, and hastened with all the force he could muster to Chancellorsville. On the march he met "Stonewall" Jackson, who proposed to make a long detour and come in on the extreme right of the Union army. Early in the morning he set out with 22,000 veterans in a direction that induced the Union scouts to think he was falling back toward Richmond. Lee, meantime, with only 13,000 men, kept Hooker's attention by making feints at different points during the day, while Jackson was moving rapidly round to the rear of the Union army. There is certainly no excuse for Hooker and his officers to be thus deceived by this usual maneuver of Jackson. At eight

May 2.

P.M. the latter fell with unexampled fury upon the Eleventh Corps, General Sigel, which was completely surprised and driven back upon the Twelfth Corps. Darkness came on, and the enemy was checked by some earthworks hastily thrown up, and by the persistent cannonade into the woods kept up by the Federals. Jackson wished to make a night attack, and gave orders to that effect. Not wishing to trust any one, he himself, with a few attendants, went forward to reconnoiter, leaving directions to his soldiers not to fire unless they saw cavalry approaching from the side of the Federals. He was returning, when a brigade of his own men fired by mistake, and he fell mortally wounded. A few days later he died. General J. E. B. Stuart was appointed to the command of his division.

May 3.

Both armies prepared for the struggle of the next day. Sedgewick obtained possession of Fredericksburg and moved toward Chancellor's. Hooker's lines were now in a position that rendered his superiority of numbers unavailable for a general battle because of dense thickets of scrub-oak. Fighting in certain points continued through the day, and Lee himself, taking four brigades from in front of Hooker, forced Sedgewick back, though his troops suffered much from the Federal artillery. Sedgewick was compelled to recross the river. For three hours there was no responsible head to the army, as Hooker when on the

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T. J. Jackson

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CHAP. LXI. 1863.

piazza of the inn—his headquarters—was stunned by a piece of falling timber knocked down by a cannon-ball from a hostile battery. It is now well known there were a number of inexcusable blunders which made this battle more a disaster than a defeat. A council of war was held at Hooker's headquarters. Generals Meade, Reynolds, and Howard wished to advance and fight it out; Slocum was not present, and Couch and Sickles thought it prudent to withdraw. It was decided by Hooker to withdraw, and during the night, in the midst of rain and darkness, the army passed safely to the north bank of the Rappahannock. The Union army lost in killed and wounded about 11,000 and the Confederates about 10,000. The disappointment of the loyal people of the country at this disaster was exceedingly great.

May 4.

Hooker, when about to move, sent a large co-operating cavalry force under Stoneman around the enemy's army to destroy railroads and bridges, and to cut lines of communication between Lee's position and Richmond. This raid, though not fully completing the orders given, did an immense amount of harm to railways; and a portion under Killpatrick passed entirely around Richmond to Gloucester on the James, and joined the army at Fredericksburg.

May 8.

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CHAPTER LXII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Lee's Advance North.—Hooker's Movements.—Confederates Across the Potomac.—Gen. Meade in Command.—Battle of Willoughby Run.—Death of Reynolds.—Battle of Gettysburg.—Lee's Defeat.—Vicksburg.—Running the Gauntlet.—Victories.—Vicksburg Captured.—Port Hudson Captured.—Grierson's Raid.—Naval Expedition.—Capture of the Atlanta.—The Draft and Riot.—French Protestant Address.—Colored Soldiers.

CHAP. LXII. 1863.

THE cry "On to the North" was heard on all sides in Richmond. General Lee coincided in this view; his army was out of provisions, and it is said that on one of the requisitions to the Commissary-general the latter wrote: "If General Lee wants rations, let him go and get them in Pennsylvania." Another reason was to compel Hooker to withdraw his army to defend Washington. Childe, in his life of Lee, enumerates among the encouragements, that the Emancipation Proclamation "had exasperated the Democratic party, who complained bitterly that all Constitutional liberties were disappearing;" and also great hopes were entertained from the influence of the "Friends of peace." "The victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had filled the South with joy and confidence." "If Lee's cannon had thundered at the gates of Washington or Philadelphia, the 'Peace party' in the North would have felt sufficiently strong to intervene in an efficacious manner, and it would have been impossible for the strife to continue."[1]

Hooker was vigilant and felt assured that the enemy

[1] Life of Lee, pp. 220, 227.

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were moving toward the Potomac; this information he sent to Washington, and asked permission to attack their rear, but the request was refused. At length Hooker took up his line of march toward Washington, and the 50,000 men under Longstreet in his front hastened to join Lee and the advance; their army numbered 70,000 effective men, 10,000 of whom were cavalry: by far the best of their armies in discipline.

Hooker by skillful reconnoitering discovered the movements of Lee's army, and in a cavalry skirmish Pleasanton obtained papers at Stuart's quarters which revealed the intentions of Lee: this information Hooker at once sent to Halleck's quarters at Washington. Meanwhile, the Confederate advance under Ewell was rapidly and secretly moving down the Shenandoah Valley, marching seventy miles in three days. They surprised Gen. Milroy at Winchester and compelled him to retreat; he finally reached the Potomac and passed over, losing on the way about 4,000 prisoners. Milroy would not have been surprised if Halleck had telegraphed to him the news of the enemy's advance, which was known at his headquarters several days before.

June 9.

The movements of the two armies were nearly the same as the autumn before; Lee, moving down the valley and crossing the Potomac, and Hooker, conducting his march with great prudence, keeping between him and the National Capital; they moved in parallel lines, watching each other carefully. Bands of Confederate cavalry in force had cut the Baltimore and Ohio railway at important points, and had passed across Maryland by way of Hagerstown to Chambersburg, Pa., seizing cattle, horses, sheep, and sending trains of wagons laden with plunder across the Potomac. This continued almost unmolested for two weeks. The Governors of the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania and West Virginia issued proclamations calling for the people to turn out and repel the invaders, and so did President Lincoln.

June 14.

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The advance of Lee's army under General Ewell crossed the Potomac at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, passing on to Chambersburg, and thence to York. Two days afterward the divisions of Longstreet and Hill crossed at the same places, and finally the whole army was reunited at Chambersburg. Hooker crossed the river at Edwards ford and moved to Frederick. Hooker now desired to send a strong force to unite with the troops at Maryland Heights,

June 25.

and take possession of the Potomac ferries in the rear of Lee, and thus cut off his communications and seize the laden trains continually passing south, but Halleck, the General-in-Chief, disapproved of the measure, as he usually did of the suggestions of the commanders in the field, who were presumed to know the situation better than any General in his office at Washington. Hooker, irritated at the re-

June 28.

fusal, sent in his resignation, which was accepted, and Major-General George G. Meade was appointed to succeed him.

General Meade did not change the arrangements of his predecessor, nor were operations delayed longer than one day. The troops on Maryland Heights were directed to join the army. In consequence of the interception of a letter from Jefferson Davis to Lee it became known that no movement could be made direct on Washington from Richmond, and from the defenses of the former troops were forwarded to Meade. The Federal army marched up the Monocacy Valley toward Gettysburg, Killpatrick's cavalry

June 29.

in the advance.

Meanwhile Lee had heard of Hooker's judicious plan to seize his line of retreat, and he suddenly fell back, as he was marching on Harrisburg, to secure a position east of the South Mountain. Up to this time he was not aware that the Union army had crossed the Potomac, and was in ignorance of its movements. He at once recalled Ewell from York and Carlisle, and ordered Longstreet and Hill to concentrate their divisions at Gettysburg, toward which village both armies were approaching, each ignorant of the intentions of the other.

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PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG

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General Buford, with a division of Federal cavalry, was the first to enter the village. He learned of the approach of the Confederates. This information he at once sent to Meade. General Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh Corps, was only four miles distant from the town, and had orders to occupy it the next morning. General Meade's headquarters were at Taneytown, thirteen miles distant; and at intervals for about twenty miles several corps of Union troops were on their way. General Buford, with his division of cavalry, moving out of town, had taken a defensive position on Willoughby Run, a little stream two miles northward of the village and beyond Seminary Hill. General Hill learned from scouts that Federal cavalry occupied the town, and in the morning moved to drive them out, when his advance found an unexpected resistance. Buford determined at all hazards to hold the position till General Reynolds, with his forces, could come to his assistance, which he did at 10 A. M. Reynolds had no orders to bring on a battle, but there was no alternative, and putting himself at the head of his division he hastened on, and sent back orders for the Third and Eleventh Corps to come forward with all haste. He took position on Seminary Hill in front of the town, lest it should be destroyed by shells. The artillery was under General Doubleday. General Reynolds, when directing the position of the last brigade on the right, was killed by a stray bullet—a sad loss to the army and the country. General Doubleday then directed the battle, which now began in great earnest. An entire Confederate brigade crossed Willoughby run and drove Buford back, but in turn were themselves repulsed and captured, with their commander, General Archer. A Mississippi brigade was coming in on the right flank and nearly captured a battery, when the Federals changed front and at once charged bayonets. The Mississippians, thus suddenly attacked, were thrown into confusion and sought refuge in the cut of an unfinished railway, and were soon forced to surrender.

June 30.

July 1.

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CHAP. LXII. 1863.

Lee's orders had been so admirably obeyed that Ewell coming from Carlisle on the north, Early from York on the east, and Hill from Chambersburg on the west, all reached Gettysburg at intervals on the same day, July 1st.

General Hill, early in the morning, had put in line of battle 14,000 men, besides his advance, Heth's division. At noon the Union army had decidedly the advantage. Ewell, who heard the roar of battle ten miles distant, hurried forward, and came upon the field at 1 P.M. He at once prepared to assault the Federal left flank, and Hill to renew the fight in front. After the fight had commenced, suddenly Early appeared on the other side, and made an impetuous charge on the Eleventh Corps, which had come up an hour or two before. These accessions to the Confederate army gave it the superiority of numbers, and thus pushed on three sides, and thrown into confusion, the Union forces—from necessity too much extended—were driven back through the village.

General Howard, when he reached the battle field at 1 P.M. with his corps, the Eleventh, assumed command. In coming up he prudently stationed one of his divisions in reserve on Cemetery Ridge, a commanding position south of Gettysburg. This division checked the advance of the enemy, and enabled the Federal troops to rally in order to receive the attack of the now exultant Confederates. The wounded Union soldiers were sent during the day to the village, and, of course, they fell into the hands of the enemy when they obtained possession. Thus ended the battle of July 1st.

General Lee had not yet arrived, but sent orders to Hill to pursue to the utmost. Early wished to assault the heights immediately; but Ewell and Hill, seeing the position strong and the Union soldiers prepared, thought it more prudent to await the morning, when their other forces could come up. When Lee arrived he found that Hill had recalled the troops.

News of the death of Reynolds had been sent to Meade,

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who directed Hancock to take command; he arrived near the close of the battle, and did much to restore order and place the troops in a position almost impregnable. As the Union troops came up during the night they were arranged along Cemetery Ridge, directly south of the village, the south end of which was terminated by two knobs known as little Round Top and Round Top. Both of these were occupied in force. In front of the former was extended the Third Corps, under General Daniel Sickles, 1,100 yards in advance on a slight elevation—a mistake which Meade discovered too late to remedy before the enemy, seeing their advantage, made the assault.

On the other hand, Lee, who thought to choose his own ground, had to arrange his men to meet the dispositions of his adversary. More than half the day passed without demonstrations except an artillery duel; Meade was waiting for the enemy to begin the conflict. About 4 P.M., without sending forward skirmishers, lest they should give notice of his coming, Longstreet with his entire force made a tremendous assault on the advanced position of Sickles, extending his lines to overlap the latter, and by a rush forward seize Little Round Top, the key to the whole position. Just at that moment Sykes's Corps, which had been held in reserve, were moving by order of Meade to occupy the same key. They had scarcely reached their line on the top when the Confederates, having passed round Sickles's left, came rushing up the slope to find themselves confronted with the most determined courage. Here occurred a most desperate hand to hand struggle. It resulted in the repulse of the assailants.

July 2.

Longstreet's attack on Sickles's corps was more successful; the soldiers fought well, but their faulty position gave the advantage to their adversaries. Sickles was severely wounded and carried from the field, General Birney taking the command.

A gap of nearly half a mile north of Round Top was made in the Union lines by the sending of reinforcements,

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CHAP. LXII. 1863. The Confederates made an effort to secure this opening, but were beaten off by the Federals sent to occupy the same place, and who reached it first. Then the Confederates made a long detour and came out in the rear of Round Top, with the hope of suddenly securing that important point, but to their dismay they saw its crest crowned with soldiers and cannons. The Fifth and Sixth Corps, fresh troops, had a few minutes before occupied the top. The latter just arrived, having marched thirty-six miles at a quick step. To attack such a position was madness, and the enemy fell back disappointed, and bivouaced in a neighboring wheat field.

Opposite the Union right was stationed Ewell, who only made demonstrations, which Meade soon detected; but about six P.M. he made a real assault against a portion of Cemetery Ridge, and captured and held a breastwork partially manned, most of the troops having been withdrawn. Three of Early's brigades attacked another portion of the same, and succeeded in driving back the unfortunate Eleventh Corps, though the artillery made sad havoc in their approaching lines. Their triumph was short, for the Second Corps fell upon them with determined vigor, and drove them off faster than they had the Eleventh.

The Confederates attributed the failure of the day to the want of united action on the part of their officers in command. Darkness ended the afternoon's work; the Confederates confessing they had "obtained no serious advantage." This ended the battle of July 2d.

Lee made no change in his general plan, but hoped on the morrow to have perfect concert of action among his own troops. During the night General Picket brought him
July 3. his division—4,000 fresh soldiers, yet he was doomed to see his plans frustrated. General Slocum before dawn attacked the Confederates in the breastwork, though they had been reinforced by three brigades, and, after a severe contest of some hours, drove them out with great loss. Finding it impossible to regain the position lost, Lee changed his plan,

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and determined to assail the Federal center on Cemetery Ridge, and by two P.M. his arrangements were completed. In front of Longstreet's and Hill's troops he placed 115 guns on Seminary Hill, hoping to disable the opposite Federal guns and then carry Cemetery Ridge by assault. General Meade penetrated the design, and made counter preparations by placing only 80 guns in position for want of room, as he had 120 more on hand to replace those disabled. Then followed a most terrible combat of field artillery. The Confederate guns accomplished but little, though they kept up an unceasing fire of two hours, as the Union troops were under excellent cover. General Hunt, Chief of Artillery, purposely slackened his fire in order to save ammunition, but Lee thought it was because of the great number of disabled guns in the Federal lines, and he made preparation to carry the Ridge by assault. About four P.M. from the west of Seminary Hill appeared the lines of the Confederates moving to the attack, with a steadiness most remarkable. In the center was Picket's division, the finest troops of the Confederate army, supported right and left by the fine divisions of Pettigrew and Wilcox. The assailing column altogether numbered 13,000 bayonets. They had 1,300 yards of plain and rolling land to pass over to reach the Federal lines, all the way under the fire of batteries on Cemetery Ridge. As they advanced the supports right and left began to waver, the left falling back, and the right, not keeping up, finally melted away. Still the Picket column moved on, closing up their ranks as the men fell, "its flanks exposed to an oblique fire from right and left, and the head of the column torn by bomb-shells and grape shot; but nothing could arrest it."[1] The incessant fire caused it to swerve to the left instead of direct upon the point intended; presently they came within musket range, the Federals reserving their fire for more deadly effect. The column pressed on without taking time to return the fire, which had been delivered upon their left;

[1] Life of Lee, p. 248.

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CHAP. LXII. 1863. when they came within two hundred yards, they were received by a severe fire from two divisions, this they returned, and then rushed on, but soon a portion of the column broke in disorder; fifteen of its colors were captured and nearly 2,000 prisoners; another portion swerved to their right and took possession of a stone wall a little way in advance of the main breastworks; this wall had been hastily constructed and used temporarily; on this they placed the blue flag of Virginia—for Picket's 4,000 were Virginians, and brave fellows too—a small success very dearly bought. They became a center of fire—front, right and left—in a few minutes; they threw down their arms, and fell upon the earth to escape the leaden hail; twelve stand of colors and about 2,500 prisoners were taken.

This virtually ended the battle of Gettysburg, when the Rebellion received a blow from which it never recovered. "The Confederate soldiers returned in a mob, pursued by the growling of hostile cannon, which swept all the valley and the slopes of Seminary Hill with balls and shells." Lee exclaimed to an English officer who was present: "This has been a sad day for us, Colonel,—a sad day—but we can't always expect to gain victories."[1]

July 4. Both armies remained in their respective positions; Meade was prudent and Lee seemed satisfied with his last rash attempt, so disastrous and so wanton in the destruction of the lives of his soldiers. He at once began to send off his trains to the crossings of the Potomac, and on the same night, in the midst of rain and storm, the Confederates began to retreat, leaving their dead on the field and their wounded uncared for; Ewell's division remaining to keep up appearances until nearly noon on the 5th.

July 14. A laborious march brought Lee's whole army to Hagerstown on the 7th; finally he crossed the river, which had been swollen by rains, thus delaying the passage for several days. Meade was cautious to excess, and unwilling to run risks the end would not justify; he was much censured for

[1] Life of Lee, p. 249.

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allowing the Confederate army to escape so easily, yet in the pursuit he captured great numbers of prisoners; many of whom were wounded and cruelly left by the roadside to lighten the trains. Lee fell back and finally took position on the south side of the Rapidan, and Meade in his old quarters on the north side of the Rappahannock. In this battle the Union army lost in killed 2,864, in wounded 13,790; the Federals buried 4,500 of the enemy's dead, and 26,500 wounded fell into their hands, and 13,621 other prisoners. Aug. 1.

Gen. Grant, finding it impossible to take Vicksburg from his present position, determined to pass a portion of his army on the west side of the river from Milliken's Bend to a point below, and then by running the gauntlet of the Vicksburg batteries obtain gunboats and transports to ferry over his troops to the east side of the river.

A portion of the army commenced the laborious march, most of the way over an inundated and spongy soil; the soldiers oftentimes halting to construct corduroy roads. Mar. 29.

Meantime Admiral Porter ran past the Vicksburg batteries with gunboats and a number of transports, which were all protected from shot by cotton and hay in bales. These transports were manned by volunteers. Said Gen. Grant in one of his reports: "It is a striking feature of the volunteer army of the United States that there is nothing which men are called upon to do, mechanical or professional, that accomplished adepts cannot be found for the duty required, in almost every regiment."

The gunboats and transports passed down, the former bombarding Grand Gulf, but without much success, and at Bruensburg they met the army, which was at once ferried over, and General McClernand's corps marched out toward Port Gibson to occupy certain hills. He was successful in driving the enemy toward Grand Gulf, which place General Pemberton ordered to be evacuated and the troops to join him at Vicksburg; and he urgently cried to General Joe Johnston, who had chief command of the Confederate Apr 30. May 1.

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forces in that section, for reinforcements. The latter replied: "If Grant crosses, unite all your troops and beat him back; success will give back what was abandoned to win it."

Grant waited five days for supplies and for Sherman, who had made a demonstration up the Yazoo, to join him; then began a series of rapid movements and victories by the Union troops. He first moved toward Jackson, the State capital, throwing out parallel divisions, bewildering Pemberton as to his real object. The soldiers had rations for five days, sufficient for this short and decisive campaign. As the army advanced they came in contact with the enemy from time to time. They found them strongly posted in the woods near the village of Raymond. After a contest of three hours the Confederates were driven from their position, they taking the direction of Jackson. Great numbers threw down their arms and deserted. The next day General McPherson's corps occupied Clinton, and obtained some important dispatches at the telegraph office; meanwhile Johnston had arrived at Jackson and taken command. Sherman and McPherson, despite the miry roads, were moving on, and three miles from Jackson met Johnston's army, about 11,000 strong. McPherson engaged the main body, and Sherman passed round, flanking the enemy and driving the riflemen from their pits. The Confederates soon left the field, having lost 250 prisoners and eighteen guns. Grant left Sherman at Jackson to destroy the war material and railways, but to *protect private* property, while he himself hastened to attack Pemberton, who was said to be in a strong position at Champion Hill with 25,000 men. General Grant was on the ground, but wished to delay the battle till the Thirteenth Corps (McClernand's) could come up, but ere he arrived the Confederates began the battle, at 11 A.M.; and after a short and decisive struggle they were driven from the field, with great loss in killed and wounded. They fell back to Black River railroad bridge, where they made a stand; but their soldiers were sadly demoralized,

May 8.

May 12.

May 14.

May 16.

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and when a Union brigade charged their right in order to obtain a better position, they fled in disorder. "All is lost!" re-echoed from the ranks, and the panic-stricken soldiers crowded into Vicksburg, at ten o'clock at night, as into a trap.

Vicksburg was invested the next day. Grant at first ordered an assault, hoping that in the demoralized condition of the enemy he might carry the place; but it was too carefully fortified to be thus taken, and he was forced to begin a regular siege. Then followed a series of expedients, such as mines, one of which when exploded blew a fort one hundred feet into the air. The garrison was nearly exhausted, and famine was pressing on when, on July 3d, at 8 A.M., a flag of truce came out from the besieged lines bearing a communication for General Grant, which contained proposals for surrender. The terms were arranged and the Confederates laid down their arms and were paroled —about 32,000 in number.

May 28.

July 4.

Port Hudson, twenty-two miles above Baton Rouge, had been invested by General Banks. The attention of the garrison was attracted by echoes of great shoutings in the Federal lines. It was soon ascertained that the cause of the uproar was the announcement of the capitulation of Vicksburg. General Gardner immediately surrendered Port Hudson with its garrison of more than 6,000 men with all their war material. The Mississippi was now open its entire length. The Confederacy had lost from July 1st to 9th 80,000 men and an immense amount of war material. General Banks's army consisted partly of troops of African descent. Many of these were from the Northern States, some were freedmen emancipated by the President's proclamation. To their honor be it said they were not guilty of outrages on their recent masters. They made efficient soldiers; more than 50,000 during 1863 enlisted in the Union armies, and about 100,000 the following year.

July 9.

Quite a number of minor expeditions were made during the siege of these two important places; the first of these

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was marked by boldness and success. Colonel B. H. Grierson made a cavalry raid from La Grange, Tenn., with 1,700 men, sweeping through the center of Mississippi, destroying $4,000,000 worth of contraband property, and coming round in safety to Baton Rouge.

Apr. 17.

The Confederate General John H. Morgan made a raid into Kentucky, and after some successes and repulses crossed the Ohio at Bradensburg into the State of Indiana. The people turned out promptly and met him at every point, though he had an effective force of 2,800 men. He was chased so hard that near New Lisbon, Ohio, he himself was glad to surrender. Only 500 of his men escaped. The gunboats in the river had prevented his recrossing. He did much damage to the railroads, but so imperfectly that they were soon repaired.

July 8.

A naval expedition under Admiral Dupont was fitted out against the forts in Charleston harbor. Nine iron-clads on a clear, bright morning, when there was just sufficient wind to blow away the smoke of battle, steamed up toward Charleston. Not a gun was fired until they had reached a position on which were trained the guns of Forts Sumter and Moultrie and several other batteries. After a most gallant bombardment the iron-clads were withdrawn, as it was discovered that without a coöperative land force the forts could not be taken. One of the iron-clads was so damaged she was blown up. General Hunter, in command of the department, was succeeded by General Q. A. Gilmore, and Admiral Dalgren superseded Dupont. Gilmore now began regular siege operations; and at length by a continuous bombardment of siege-guns and iron-clads Sumter was crumbled to pieces. Gilmore occupied a point four miles distant, and from there he threw shells into Charleston itself, which was soon abandoned by most of the inhabitants.

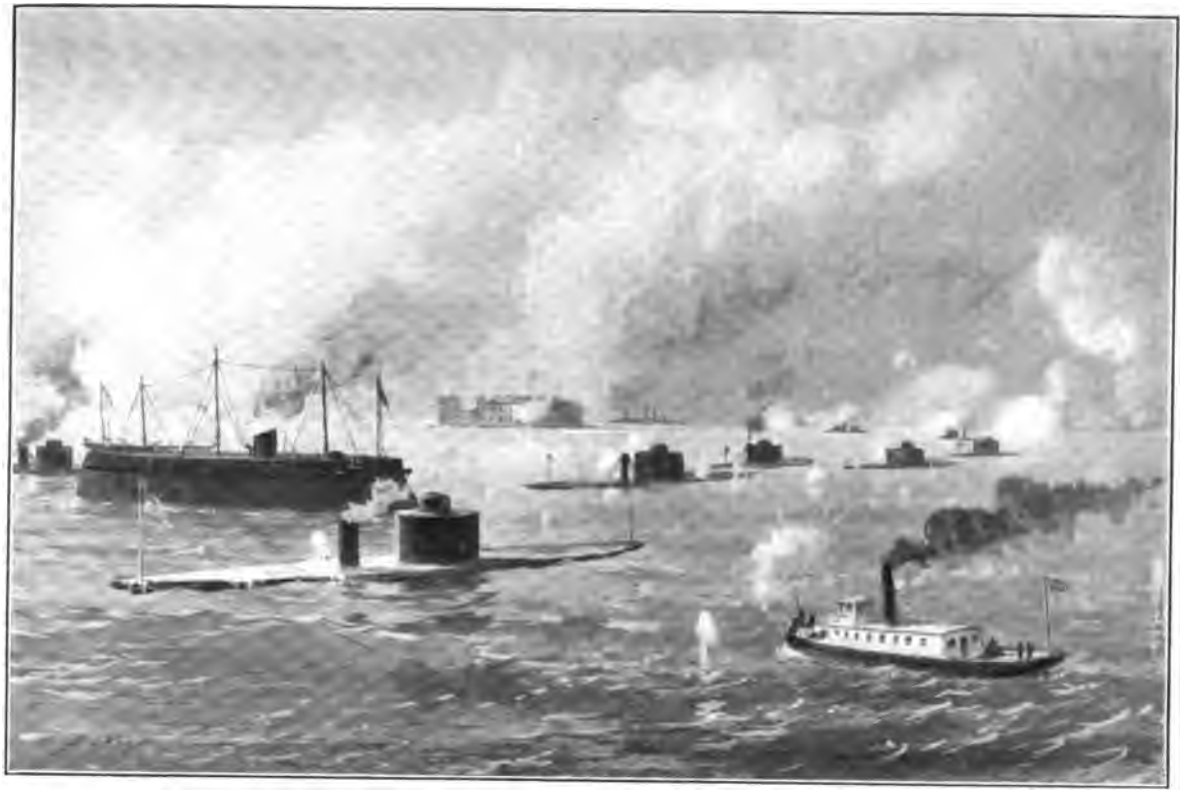
Apr. 7.

July 6.

Aug. 24.

An English blockade-runner—the *Fingal*—came into Savannah in November, 1861, but was unable to return

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ATTACK ON CHARLESTON

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OF
CALIFORNIA

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with a cargo of cotton, because of the fleet investing the harbor. The Confederate authorities fitted her out as an iron-clad, somewhat after the manner of the famous *Merrimac*, and called her the *Atlanta*. Her prowess excited great expectations, and it was proclaimed by her officers that no iron-clad in the Federal navy could withstand her attacks. Admiral Dupont, hearing of this iron-clad ram, sent the monitors *Weehawken* and *Nahant*, under Captain Rodgers, to Warsaw Sound to watch for her, as it was ascertained that in a few days she was coming out to spread havoc along the coast. Rodgers arrived, and sent a little steamer up the Savannah as a scout. Early one morning the scout announced that the *Atlanta* was coming down the river; all hands on the monitors were piped to quarters. Rodgers steamed down the river to decoy the *Atlanta* into deep water, where he could more easily maneuver the *Weehawken*. The ram hastened to pursue, thinking the monitor was trying to escape; when she came within easy range Captain Rodgers slackened his speed, and he himself sighted one of the *Weehawken's* 15-inch guns, and the shot smashed the *Atlanta's* pilot-house to flinders, wounding both the pilots; another 15-inch shot struck her half way from her gunwale, crushing her iron and wood work, and making a large hole, killing one man and wounding twelve. Four out of five of the *Weehawken's* shots took effect; the *Atlanta* failed to injure her antagonist, and after a contest of fifteen minutes she hauled down her flag. The disappointment was great to the gentlemen and ladies who had been induced to accompany the *Atlanta* in other boats, with the expectation of seeing her capture the monitors.

June 17.

Congress found it necessary to pass a law authorizing the President to recruit the army by a draft from able-bodied citizens between the ages of 20 and 45. This he ordered for 300,000 men. In consequence of this order a riot, the most terrible in our history, began in the city of New York, and lasted for three days, but was finally put down by the police, with the aid of armed citizens and

Mar. 3.

July 13.

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soldiers from the forts in the harbor, but after, it is estimated, about two hundred persons were killed, mostly rioters. The latter began by burning the houses where the provost marshals had their offices, the fire often extending much farther. The spirit which animated a certain class of the rioters manifested itself in the burning of the Half Orphan Asylum for colored children, and other fiendish outrages were perpetrated upon the colored population. Afterward great numbers of the rioters were arrested, tried and sentenced to years of imprisonment. The riot would have been subdued sooner, had not the National Guard—city militia—been absent at the call of the President to aid in repelling Lee and his army from Pennsylvania.

The depression and disquietude in the Confederacy were very great after the reverses from July 1st to 9th. Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation ordering into the field all white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. These were to serve three years, and if they refused to report themselves they were to be treated as deserters from the Confederate army, that is, to suffer the penalty of being shot, according to military law. The Confederate financial prospects were becoming worse and worse, and these reverses had crushed every hope of recognition by foreign powers, and even the expectation of mediation faded away.

The laboring classes of England, as far as they understood the matter, sympathized with the free States in their struggle with the slave States. The intelligent portion of the French people were still more pronounced. The Protestant pastors of France in an address (dated Paris, March 12th, 1863,) to their Protestant brethren in England, because of their want of sympathy with the free States in their struggle, use the following language: "No more revolting spectacle has ever been before the civilized world than a Confederacy, consisting mainly of Protestants, forming itself and demanding independence, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, with a professed design of maintaining and propagating slavery. The triumph of

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such a cause would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century."

The Confederate authorities were greatly exasperated because colored men were allowed to enlist in the United States army. They were in the habit of giving no quarter to these soldiers, and the atrocities practiced upon those of them who happened to be captured in battle roused President Lincoln to issue a proclamation announcing that for every captured colored soldier sold into slavery there should be put one Confederate prisoner of war to labor on the public works, there to remain until the colored soldier was free and treated as a prisoner of war. This proclamation ended that species of outrage.

The organization of National Banks has proved an effective agency in securing a uniform currency and cheap exchange in mercantile transactions between the different sections of the whole country. These banks are required to invest their *entire* capital in United States interest-paying bonds, which interest is paid to the banks themselves in gold. *Ten* per cent of their capital is retained by the Government to meet contingencies, while *ninety* per cent of the same is furnished to the banks in the form of circulating notes. These notes are engraved, printed and registered by the Government alone, in order to control their issue and prevent fraud in the circulation of the banks getting beyond the legal amount. Should a national bank fail, the holder of its bills cannot suffer loss, as they would be redeemed by the United States Treasury. The notes of these banks are at par throughout the Union, and as such are received for all dues, "except duties on imports and interest on the public debt." This financial measure greatly facilitates commercial relations between the people of different portions of the land, and aids in strengthening the union of the Nation.

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CHAPTER LXIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The March to Chattanooga.—The Battle —Chickamauga.—Burnside; Knoxville.—Consolidated Armies.—Battle above the Clouds.—Bragg's Defeat.—A Stringent Order.—Marauders in Missouri.—Massacre at Lawrence.—Red River Expedition.—Massacre at Fort Pillow.—Grant; Lieutenant-General.—Position of Affairs.—Sherman flanks Johnston; he falls back.—Death of Bishop Polk.—Kenesaw Mountain.—Across the Chattahoochee.—Hood in Command.—Death of McPherson.—Battles.—Atlanta Captured.—March to the Sea.—The Christmas Gift.

CHAP. LXIII. 1868.

FROM the battle of Murfreesboro, at the first of the year, till June 25th, Rosecrans remained in his camp recruiting, especially his cavalry. Meanwhile, General Bragg retired to the south bank of Duck river—a deep, narrow stream—whose fords he fortified with the greatest care, and waited for Rosecrans to come and attack him in his well-chosen position. The latter advanced not in the way marked out by his adversary, but by a series of skillfully devised flanking movements compelled Bragg to abandon all his well-laid plans, and to escape being taken at great disadvantage in the rear. He fell back into Alabama and continued his retreat across the Cumberland Mountains to Chattanooga, there he made a stand, having been largely reinforced from Lee's army by Longstreet's division and from Johnston's Mississippi force, and paroled prisoners from Vicksburg who had not been exchanged. He fortified that famous railroad center, and at various points on the Tennessee river threw up defensive works. Rosecrans was much retarded in his pursuit by the excessive rains, the swollen

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streams and the want of bridges, which had been carefully destroyed by the retiring enemy. Chattanooga is on the Tennessee river at the mouth of a valley formed by a creek of the same name, between Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Lookout Mountain rises 2,400 feet above the sea; the base is wooded, but the sides, for the most part, are of abrupt rocks, which in places are perpendicular.

On Rosecrans's approach Bragg evacuated Chattanooga, which the former occupied, himself, and also a portion of Lookout Mountain by Crittenden's division, and the valley of the Chickamauga by General Thomas's corps. Bragg advanced his forces over Chickamauga Creek to get between Chattanooga and Rosecrans's main army. This movement brought on an engagement. About 11 A.M. the Confederates attacked the Union left flank with their whole strength, and forced it back after an obstinate resistance. The Federals being reinforced in turn took the offensive, and by 4 P.M. recovered nearly all the ground lost. The Confederates left their dead on the field and all their badly wounded. Meanwhile, Generals Bishop Polk and Hill assaulted the Union center, which wavered for a short time but recovered and held the enemy in check; then the assault was made again with a stronger force, and the center was compelled to give way. Sheridan's division came up, and presently others, and after a spirited charge at sunset regained the entire ground. After dark the enemy made a desperate attempt on the center, but were received so vigorously that they abandoned their position. This ended the first day's battle.

Aug. 20.

Sept. 19.

The Confederates renewed the conflict the next day by again attacking the Union left. The Federals held their ground for a time, and then fell back in order, and being reinforced, checked the enemy. Two hours after they threw a tremendous force upon the Union center, where General Thomas commanded. During the night his men extemporized a barrier of logs and fence rails, from behind which their musketry told severely on the enemy, while the

Sept. 20.

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CHAP. LXIII. 1863. Aug. 11. artillery on rising ground in the rear made havoc in their ranks. The Confederates came on with frantic yells. They often staggered under the well-directed fire, but would rally again under the urgency of their officers. The Union center had been weakened by almost one-third; the disordered portions fell back toward Chattanooga, and Rosecrans was carried along with the crowd. Thomas then moved to a position on the slopes of Mission Ridge, and there massed what artillery he had, which played most effectively on the enemy. They were urged against the position of Thomas by Longstreet and Bishop Polk with a disregard of human life scarcely known. As they came up they were slaughtered at a terrible rate by well-directed discharges of musketry and artillery. Then they made a flank movement, and were attacked by Union cavalry and severely repulsed. At 4 P.M. Thomas retired in order to Chattanooga. The losses of the Confederates were enormous, as they were so much exposed in their assaults. Bragg admitted a loss of 18,000—now known to be much below the actual number. The Union loss was 1,644 killed and 9,262 wounded.

The "Army of the Cumberland" was in straits for provisions at Chattanooga, as the numerous cavalry of the enemy were continually breaking their long line of communications. The Government detached two corps from the Army of the Potomac and sent them under Hooker. They went by rail, and arrived at Chattanooga in an almost incredibly short time. By the same authority, General Grant sent Sherman with a large portion of the army that had captured Vicksburg. Rosecrans, meantime, had been relieved, and General Thomas appointed to succeed him.

Sept. 1. General Burnside, who was in command of the Department of the Ohio, moved through Eastern Kentucky and reached Knoxville, Tenn., where he was hailed with rejoicings by the inhabitants. He took possession of the famous Cumberland Gap, cutting the communication between Richmond and Middle Tennessee. After the battle of Chickamauga, Bragg, at the suggestion of Jefferson Davis, who

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was visiting his army, sent Longstreet to drive Burnside out of Knoxville. The former made an assault, but was so severely repulsed that he was under the necessity of besieging the town, which he did till he was compelled to raise the siege on the approach of Sherman and retreat into West Virginia, and thence joined Lee's army on the Rapidan.

1863. Sept. 29. Dec. 8.

The authorities at Washington consolidated the Western armies—the Cumberland, the Tennessee, the Ohio—and appointed General Grant to the command. He assumed office and appointed General Thomas to the first named; General Sherman to the second, and General Burnside to the third. On the day that Grant himself arrived at Chattanooga, Hooker surprised and drove the Confederates out of Lookout Valley; they moving round the mountain to Mission Ridge. Sherman's troops from Vicksburg arrived, but so secretly that Bragg was entirely ignorant of their presence. Grant at once availed himself of the mistake of sending Longstreet to Knoxville, and began to make demonstrations on Bragg's left to divert his attention; sending a large force with much ostentation; and taking position on high ground in sight of the enemy, but as soon as it was dark the force countermarched and reached the main army in the morning. He also sent General Thomas, who surprised the enemy and drove them before him, obtaining an important position, which he secured by fortifying. Meanwhile, to conceal Sherman's march round to Bragg's right, he directed Hooker to make an attempt on Lookout mountain; he moved at once and soon his men were picking their way up. A fog had rested upon the mountain during the morning, which concealed the movement from the Confederates, and they only learned of it as their rifle-pits one by one were taken; at 12 o'clock Geary's battalion rounded the peak of the mountain still enveloped in clouds. The Federal soldiers had been ordered to maintain their place if they should gain the top, but their appearance was so sudden and unexpected by the enemy that they took to flight, and Geary's soldiers forgot their orders and rushed on in pur-

Oct. 18. Oct. 23. Nov. 23.

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CHAP. LXIII. 1863.

suit; other brigades were coming up, and after two or three sharp conflicts the plateau was cleared, and the Confederates aided in their descent over the rocks to the valley below. About 2 P.M., the clouds rolled down off the mountain and revealed the stars and stripes planted on the summit; such was the battle above the clouds. We may imagine the cheers that went up from the Union army below in Chattanooga. Sherman had now come within striking distance and was waiting for the time appointed—daylight—when the whole Union line was to advance. From a cone-shaped hill called Bald Knob, could be had a view of the entire battle-field; on the top of this hill, Grant, with some officers, took his stand.

Nov. 25.

Sherman commenced the attack on the Confederate right about 10 A.M., and in an hour's time it became general along the lines. The contest was carefully watched from Bald Knob; it was seen that Bragg was weakening his centre by sending troops to his right; the crisis had come. Grant signalled the command and three or four brigades dashed down the slope and across the valley and straight for the centre of the Confederate army, literally running over the rifle-pits in their front, burst out of the woods like an overwhelming torrent carrying all before them; the panic stricken enemy fled in every direction. Just at sunset the Ridge was in Union hands and the Confederates were disastrously defeated. Pollard says: "A disgraceful panic ensued; the whole left wing of the Confederates became involved, gave way and scattered in unmitigated rout." It was a most striking scene to behold the flaunting signal flags on the tops of these mountains, telegraphing to one another, and to hear the cheers that rose along the lines for six miles.

Nov. 25.

General Grant the same evening telegraphed to Washington: "I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg; Lookout Mountain top, all the rifle-pits in Chattanooga valley, and Missionary Ridge are held by us." The pursuit was commenced the next

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morning, but was soon discontinued, and Sherman was at once sent to relieve Burnside at Knoxville.

The authorities at Richmond censured Bragg for his misfortune, alleging that his positions were so impregnable that he should not have been defeated, and General Joe Johnston was sent to supersede him in command.

General Grant issued a very stringent order to restrain the soldiers from marauding upon the inhabitants, and appropriating private property. Any soldier found guilty of such conduct was to be summarily punished. Every effort, consistent with military necessity, was made to protect the poor people of the Confederacy, and these orders were enforced, as far as possible, by the Union officers. July 25.

General Fred. Steele was sent from Vicksburg to occupy Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, in order to revive the loyal element in the State, and re-establish the legitimate authority. General Steele repaired to Helena and assumed command, then to Clarendon, on the White river, and then across the country, driving the Confederates before him, who finally made a stand three miles below Little Rock, but were quickly defeated, and pursued so vigorously they were unable to set fire to the town. Except an iron-clad ram on the stocks, property, both public and private, was held sacred. A provisional government was established; General Steele remaining some months. The Confederate power in the State was effectually broken, and only squads of guerrillas prowled about the country, robbing the houses, granaries and cellars of their own people. Aug. 17. Sept. 10.

In Missouri hordes of these men swarmed over the country pillaging the people, disloyal or loyal. Under an outlaw named Quantrell, a band of these marauders dashed into Lawrence, Kansas, at half-past four in the morning, and in cold blood murdered every man they could find. "Eighty-five widows and two hundred orphans were made that morning." The town was plundered and ladies robbed of their jewelry. Aug. 17.

Expeditions of Federal troops occupied Corpus Christi

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CHAP. LXIII. on the coast, and Brownsville on the Rio Grande in Texas; an expedition was sent up the Red river against Shreveport, an important point.

1864. Jan. After much preparation General Banks was ready to move. Admiral Porter, with fifteen gunboats, passed up Red river, freeing it of obstructions and its banks from the presence of the enemy. The gunboats reached Alexandria and Union troops occupied the town. The Confederates, scattering over the country, burned all the cotton they could find, and the houses in which it was stored. The army from necessity left the river; the advance carelessly fell into an ambuscade, was forced to fall back, and finally abandoning the train reached the main army. The next day the Confederates, much elated, attacked the Federals but were severely repulsed. It was thought best to give up the enterprise since the river was falling fast and the gunboats would be useless. When the fleet reached the rapids near Alexandria it was found it could not pass down. This was obviated by the genius of Colonel Bailey, of Wisconsin, who constructed a dam across the river, thus raising the water, and at a signal the dam was loosened and the boats passed safely down on the flood. Thus ended the fruitless expedition.

The Confederate General Forrest carried on an irregular warfare in Western Kentucky and Tennessee, always treating the Union inhabitants with great cruelty. He captured Union City and its garrison of 450 men; he also made an

Mar. 24. attack on Paducah but was repulsed. The same Forrest and his band carried Fort Pillow by assault; after the fort surrendered, the garrison to the number of 300 were slaughtered in cold blood, because a portion were colored

Apr. 12 men. Forrest, from his statement of the case, seems to have been at least not altogether responsible for the outrage.

The successes of General Grant attracted the attention both of the nation and of Congress, which body revived the grade of Lieutenant-General, extinct since the retirement of

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General Scott. This was conferred on General Grant; who at once turned over the army at Chattanooga to General W. T. Sherman, and repaired to Washington, whither he had been summoned by telegraph. He was less known personally than any of the department generals; a man of deeds and few words; while a strong vein of common sense in his character gave an earnest he would be equal to emergencies likely to arise. 1864. Mar. 8.

At the White House the President, in the presence of his Cabinet and General Halleck, presented him his commission of Lieutenant-General, saying a few words of kindness and expressing his own confidence, then adding: "As the country here trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you." Grant, after paying a compliment "to the noble Union armies," ended by saying: "I feel the full weight of the responsibilities devolving upon me, and I know if they are met it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men." Mar. 9.

He entered immediately upon his duties, visiting the headquarters of General Meade to confer with him, and the next day left for the West and by appointment met Sherman at Nashville to consult with him. Grant believed there could be no substantial peace until the military power of the Confederacy was utterly crushed, and to that purpose he devoted all his energies. As a summary of the position of affairs at this time it may be stated: There were two main armies of the Confederacy—one under Lee defending Richmond, the other under Johnston guarding the approaches to Atlanta, the great strategic point and railroad center of Northwest Georgia; the Mississippi river was patroled by Union gunboats from St. Louis to its mouth; the line of the Arkansas was held, and all west of the Mississippi north of that stream; in Southern Louisiana a few points not far from the river were held by the Federals, and at the mouth of the Rio Grande was a small garrison; along the Atlantic coast, in addition to the block- Mar. 10.

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ade, many important places were held; and on the Gulf, Pensacola and New Orleans. Such was the situation when General Grant assumed supreme command. His design was to keep Lee and Johnston so much occupied that they would be unable, as heretofore, to aid each other.

Sherman was ready to move. At Dalton, thirty miles southeast of Chattanooga, was the Confederate army, 30,000 strong, and, by its well-chosen position, equal to twice that number. Here Johnston was waiting to be attacked, when he learned that a portion of the Union army, by a rapid march through passes and gaps, had flanked him upon his left and was threatening the railroad in his rear, while another portion was moving upon his front, and still another on his right was marching round his army; he was therefore compelled to give up his stronghold and fall back eighteen miles to Resaca, another strong position behind Camp Creek, its whole line well fortified on steep hills. Sherman reconnoitered and again flanked his adversary. Johnston at one time, thinking he had discovered a weak point in the Union lines, made an attack upon the Twentieth Corps, Hooker's, but was repulsed at all points and driven from several strongholds. Foiled at every attempt, he moved his forces against the Union left flank, and at 7 P. M. the Confederates came in tremendous force and overwhelming numbers upon that point. The Federals were forced back. Suddenly a cheer was heard, and Hooker's Corps came up, and the first intimation they gave the enemy was the cheer, which was followed by a rush over the dead bodies of their comrades. They broke the enemy's line beyond recovery, and drove them more than a mile. At 2 next morning the Confederates evacuated Resaca, passing over Oostenaula River and breaking down the bridge behind them, and moved on until they reached the Etowah River, over which they crossed and took position in the mountains around Altoona. On the crest of these mountains were carefully arranged batteries to sweep every approach, and here Johnston resolved to fight a decisive

May 9–10.

May 13.

May 16.

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W. T. Sherman

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battle. The Union army came up, but Sherman had no idea of sacrificing his men by assaulting so strong a position, and he flanked Johnston again and compelled him to fall back toward Dallas. When within four miles of that place Hooker's division overtook him. A skirmish began, other divisions came up, and it became a battle severely contested; but at length the Confederates were driven back to where three important roads met. The Union soldiers threw up entrenchments during the night, which Johnston assaulted and was repulsed. The Federals afterward made an assault upon what was deemed a weak point of the enemy's line, and they, too, were repulsed.

The Confederate commander remained quiet for two days, and Sherman ordered a movement to his rear, and Johnston again thought best to fall back to the new position at Kenesaw Mountain, fortifying and extending his line about ten miles; his centre, Pine Mountain, being much advanced. On these mountains the enemy had signal stations, but Sherman's sign-corps soon learned their sign-code and revealed their secrets. Bishop-General Polk, with his staff, came out on the crest of Pine Mountain to reconnoitre. A rifled field-piece was sighted by Captain Simonson, and fired at the group from one of the Union batteries: that shot killed the Bishop. The information was immediately communicated to both armies.

June 14.

Sherman decided to break the enemy's line at Pine Mountain, the advanced center, and a rapid artillery fire was opened upon it. During the next night Johnston abandoned the mountain. The following day the Union army pressed nearer and nearer, and Johnston retired to Kenesaw Mountain. Now followed several days of rain, and the Federals made but little progress in their approaches. Hood's division of Confederates made an assault upon Hooker's advanced lines early in the morning, driving in the pickets, and came upon the main line behind extemporized breastworks. They were repulsed, leaving the field covered with their dead. Johnston had fortified his

June 17.

June 22.

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CHAP. LXIII. 1864.

lines with great care, and Sherman resolved to make approaches and assault them. The assault was made, but failed to carry the point, yet the Union soldiers held their advanced position, and Johnston again evacuated his lines in the night, and retired toward the Chattahoochee River, to a new fortified line on which a thousand or more slaves had been engaged a month. The fortifications along this line of retreat were constructed more or less by the same hands. Sherman followed up, and by flanking his adversary right and left, held the river eighteen miles above and ten miles below him, while Thomas was pressing him in front, and Johnston was compelled to cross the river during the night, burning the bridge and his pontoons, and fell back toward Atlanta, five or six miles distant. Sherman delayed a few days to repair railways and bridges and strengthen important points. When ready he began to move on Atlanta.

July 2.

July 9.

The Confederate authorities at Richmond were dissatisfied with Johnston, and he was relieved of his command and General John B. Hood appointed in his place. The latter was incautious to rashness, but full of courage. "This appointment," says Sherman in his Memoirs, "meant fight." Strong breastworks had been constructed in front and around Atlanta.

July 17.

About noon, the Union soldiers, having come up within skirmishing distance, halted and were resting, when suddenly the enemy rushed out of their nearest entrenchments, and fell with great fury upon Hooker's corps and a portion of Howard's. The latter extemporized a barrier of fence-rails. After two hours fighting the assailants were forced to retire to their entrenchments, having lost more than 4,000, killed and wounded, and accomplished nothing except to teach the Union army to be on its guard. The Federals, in contracting their lines and cutting communications, seized a hill near the Augusta Railway, from which elevation cannon balls could be thrown into the streets of the city. This

July 20.

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hill the Confederates made a desperate attempt to recover, but were repulsed with loss. CHAP. LXIII. 1864.

The Union army still continued contracting its lines carefully, when about noon the scouts reported the enemy in motion and massing on the Union left. On they came without a note of warning, and the battle raged till dark, with occasionally a gain by the Confederates, but in the main they were repulsed with great loss, and the grasp of the besieging army became still more strong on the doomed city. They made seven assaults during the day, and were as often repulsed, Hood's loss being at least twice as great as Sherman's. In this battle fell McPherson, only thirty years of age, but the most promising of the corps commanders. General O. O. Howard was appointed to succeed McPherson in the command of the Army of the Tennessee. July 22.

Meanwhile, the Union cavalry was making successful raids around Atlanta, destroying railways; all of which were broken except the Macon and Atlanta.

General Howard's corps was sent round to the right of the city to destroy a railroad. Hood was on the alert, and hurried out to crush the force before it could get assistance. On he came in solid columns, sweeping away the Union pickets; but presently he came in the most reckless manner, with his men crowded together upon the Federals, who were behind breastworks hastily constructed of logs, fence rails and stones. The Union soldiers, deliberately taking aim, swept away line after line of his best men. The proportion of the killed was unusually large. "Six successive charges were made, which were six times gallantly repulsed, each time with fearful loss of life." Hood's lines were about twelve miles in extent, and his fortifications were manned in part by recent levies, that he might use his veterans in the field. July 28.

Sherman determined at all hazards to break the Macon and Atlanta railway, south of the city, and a large force accomplished the work effectually by burning the ties and heating the rails red hot, and winding them around trees

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CHAP. LXIII. and telegraph poles. Hood, noticing that a large portion of Sherman's army were gone, thought they were retreating.

1864. Aug. 28. The rumor spread, and the citizens crowded to give him their congratulations, which he was receiving, when a courier on horseback dashed in and brought the astounding news that Sherman had possession of the road, and that Hardee, who had been sent with a large force to protect Jonesboro, was disastrously defeated.

That night strange noises like earthquakes or explosions were heard in the direction of Atlanta. Hood was blowing up the magazines and evacuating the place.

Sept. 2. Sherman entered the once beautiful city, now almost a mass of ruins, and it was telegraphed over the land, "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." Hood's scattered forces were afterward more or less united, and he made many attempts to annoy the Union army by cutting railroads and attacking places garrisoned, but in all these he totally failed. Sherman detached General Thomas and his corps with other divisions to move on Nashville and repel Hood should he make an attempt in that direction. Jefferson Davis after the fall of Atlanta visited the region, and at Macon encouraged the people by assuring them Sherman

Sept. 23. would yet be driven back, and "our cavalry and our people will harass and destroy his army as did the Cossacks that of Napoleon; and the Yankee general like him will escape with only a body guard."

Sherman in one of his letters to Grant made a suggestion that it was "futile to chase round after Hood," but, leaving Tennessee in the hands of Thomas, "to destroy Atlanta and march across Georgia to Savannah or Charleston, breaking roads and doing irreparable damage; we cannot remain on the defensive." This led to the consideration of the question more fully, though it would seem a similar thought had occurred to Grant; and preparations were made for the "march to the sea." Meantime, Hood with his army was hastening on toward middle Tennessee, expecting to defeat Thomas.

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Sherman now destroyed in Atlanta the public buildings used by the Confederates for military purposes—no private dwellings or churches were designedly injured—and set out to push across the country to the sea, and if need be come in the rear of Richmond. The army marched in two columns with spreading wings—extending sixty miles—so thoroughly bewildering the enemy that they were unable to make much opposition. This bold march ended December 10, within a few miles of Savannah, and soon communication was had with the Union fleet which was in waiting. Three days later Fort McAllister, the defense of Savannah, was taken, and General Hardee in consequence evacuated the city, which was immediately occupied by Union forces. Sherman sent the following dispatch to President Lincoln: "I beg leave to present, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also 25,000 bales of cotton."

Nov. 16.

Dec. 20.

The army, when thus cut loose from depots of provisions, was forced to depend for sustenance upon the country through which it passed, and strict orders were given to prevent outrages on the people. "Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, or commit any trespass;" when needed to replace those injured, foraging parties were permitted to take "horses, mules and wagons," "discriminating, however, between the rich, who usually were hostile, and the poor and industrious, usually neutral or friendly;" "to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance;" and "to refrain from abusive or threatening language."[1] Complaints have been made that these orders were, in some instances, not fully carried out; but there is no evidence that their violation was connived at by the higher officers in command, but that the marauders were punished when detected.

[1] Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 175.

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CHAPTER LXIV.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Grant's choice of subordinates.—Battles in the Wilderness.—Butler at Bermuda Hundreds.—Flanking Movement.—Early in the Valley.—Sheridan in the Valley.—Sheridan's ride.—The Mine Exploded.—Capture of Mobile.—Outrages in Missouri.—Capture of Wilmington.—Battle of Nashville.—Defeat of Hood.

CHAP. LXIV. 1864.

We now return to the Army of the Potomac. Arrangements were in preparation for the final struggle. General B. F. Butler was assigned to the general supervision of the force designed to follow up the James to Richmond, and to make a diversion toward Petersburg. He had about 30,000 men, under the command of Generals W. F. Smith and Gilmore—the latter had been recalled from Charleston Harbor with 10,000 men. General Sigel was in command in that famous battle-field of the war—Shenandoah Valley—in connection with General Crook on the Kanawha, West Virginia; General Meade, the hero of Gettysburg, with the main army on the north bank of the Rapidan.

General Grant always showed great skill and knowledge of men in the choice of subordinate officers; nor did he ever seem to be influenced by professional jealousy. He brought with him to Washington only three or four staff officers—no more than were absolutely necessary. The general plan of campaigns was marked out, and he availed himself of the skill of his subordinate commanders, who, in the details, were permitted to exercise their own judgment in accordance with the general plan. Some of the best suggestions of generals in the field were frequently disregarded by Halleck, the commander-in-chief at Washington, as if

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he knew better—though hundreds of miles away—than the equally educated commander in the field. We must not overlook the private soldiers composing the armies of the Republic. They were intelligent and understood how much was involved in the contest; with this knowledge they had left their homes, and were willing to risk their lives in defense of the Union of their country, and frequently the superior intelligence, the bravery and dash of private soldiers crowned with success important maneuvers.

Lee's army lay on the South side of the Rapidan, virtually entrenched in the "Wilderness." This is a barren region, covered with scrub-oak and tufted trees, where a thousand soldiers could keep four times their number at bay. This was intersected by many narrow cross roads, bounded on either side by a perfect jungle. The whole district and every road was thoroughly known to the Confederate generals; and Lee from his position and knowledge of the ground was thus able to throw, as he wished, a strong force on any particular point.

The Union army crossed the Rapidan at Germana Ford unopposed—purposely, says Childe, in order to secure a battle in the "Wilderness." Grant had intended to pass rapidly through the wilderness, with as little fighting as possible, and force his adversary back toward Richmond, because in that jungle he could not deploy his men, and could only use about twenty out of his three hundred pieces of artillery; neither could he use his cavalry. Early the next morning the Union army began its onward march to get beyond this labyrinth of trees, when it was met at two points by two Confederate forces brought up by parallel roads. This was at first thought to be a feint, but at 11 A.M. the battle began in earnest by the Union soldiers assaulting the enemy. The conflict of this day was peculiar. The soldiers groped for each other through the thicket, and with various successes in different parts of the woods. It was a drawn battle—then both armies lay on their arms.

May 4.

May 5.

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CHAP. LXIV.

1864. May 6. After receiving reports from his subordinates, Grant issued orders for attacking the enemy the next morning, and at dawn Hancock's division, sustained by Wadsworth, fell furiously on the Confederate center, and after a few hours drove it a mile and a half, taking many prisoners. They were now reinforced, outnumbering Hancock, and in turn forced him back over the same ground, but at 11 A.M. he made a stand from which the enemy failed to move him. Here fell General Wadsworth, a gentleman of excellent worth, and high social position; and here also fell the Confederate Generals Jones, Jenkins and Stafford, very efficient officers. There was a lull for some hours, when the enemy at 4 P.M. made a desperate assault upon Hancock, and partially forced him from his position, but being reinforced the assailants were in turn driven back. Here Longstreet was severely wounded, and carried from the field, and Lee himself took immediate command. He restored order, but could not retrieve the field.

When the Union center advanced the next morning, Lee was found to have fallen back to a second position strongly entrenched. This line of battle was six miles long, along which raged the conflict; Lee fell back again and afterward fought only from behind breastworks, except where it could not be avoided. The Confederates were evidently dis-

May 9–10. couraged, and when a portion of the Union army moved by night toward Spottsylvania Court House, Lee fell back lest he should be taken in the rear. Now commenced a series of conflicts in one of which General Sedgwick, one of the first of the corps commanders, was killed.

Grant telegraphed to the Secretary of war: "we have

May 11. now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is much in our favor. I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

The following morning at 4 o'clock, in a dense fog, the orders were given as quietly as possible, and the march was

May 12. in silence. Hancock made a dash at an advanced position of the enemy, rushed over the breastwork, and captured the

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two Generals, Johnson and Stewart, and nearly 4,000 prisoners, and thirty guns. Hancock moved on and captured a second line of rifle pits; this brought on a general battle which lasted all day, the latter part in the midst of a violent rain-storm.

Grant now delayed to move for several days, in order that the wounded could be sent to hospitals. A large number of surgeons arrived from the North, and members of both the Sanitary and Christian Commissions to take care of these wounded; also reinforcements and supplies came up.

May 19. General Sheridan set out at daylight with a large force of cavalry, moving toward Fredericksburg to deceive the enemy; then southward along the Confederate right, reached the railroad in their rear and destroyed ten miles of it, locomotives, trains of cars, and an immense amount of provisions, and released 400 captured Union soldiers. He pursued his way, burning depots and breaking railroads. At length he fell in with that chivalrous raider J. E. B. Stuart; they came to blows and the Confederates were defeated, leaving their commander, Stuart, mortally wounded. Pushing on, Sheridan came upon the outer defenses of Richmond itself. These he took, but found the second line too strong; he retired rapidly to and across the Chickahominy, and after a raid of five days returned to the army. This raid, in its effects, was one of the most important in the war.

May 24.

General Butler put his forces on transports and landed them at a plantation named Bermuda Hundreds, and then fortified his position. Then he sent a force, which after severe fighting destroyed a railroad bridge and a portion of the track seven miles North of Petersburg; the force captured some entrenchments at the railroad. Beauregard was in command, and under the cover of a dense fog he made a vigorous attack on the advance, and compelled them to fall back to Bermuda Hundreds, and then threw up entrenchments paralled to Butler's and prevented his moving.

May 6.

May 16. The Union army by a flank movement came upon the

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North bank of the North Anna; Lee was found strongly posted beyond the river; for three days Grant made demonstrations and then in the night commenced flanking his adversary, and Lee was again compelled to abandon his position and fall back; all the Union army passed the Pamunkey river and moved on three miles toward Richmond.

Here the Confederates made a sudden attack in great force, but were repulsed with loss. Then Grant, to test their works, ordered an assault along the whole line. This

June 8.

was vigorously done, and the enemy were driven out of their first defenses and took shelter behind their second line. These were too strongly fortified to be easily taken. The Confederates during the day made wild charges against the Union lines, but in every instance were repulsed with loss. Lee ordered attacks on three successive nights on

June 7.

the Union lines. Every one failed and his army sustained heavy losses. These night attacks showed the desperation of the enemy and the watchfulness of the Federals, who were never surprised. By agreement there was now an armistice of two hours, in which both parties buried their dead and removed their wounded.

General Grant, finding the fortifications very strong in front, determined to unite with Butler and move on Richmond by way of Petersburg, twenty-two miles south of the former. According to Childe, Lee deemed Richmond more assailable from this direction than from the north. This movement took the enemy by surprise, as it was accomplished with so much celerity and with scarcely any difficulty. A portion of the troops passed by water down the York and up the James, and the remainder by land, crossing the James on pontoon bridges. Meantime an important cavalry raid, under Generals Wilson and Kautz, was conducted south of Richmond, destroying a portion of the Weldon Railroad and the Southside and Danville—in all about seventy miles, with rolling stock and depots—and

June 28.

then, after severe fighting, returned to the army, having

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lost their light artillery. "The damage done the enemy in this expedition more than compensated for the loss sustained."

Meanwhile General Sigel, who was in command in Shenandoah Valley with too small a force—8,000 men—was defeated by Breckenridge; General Crook, in West Virginia, failing to coöperate with Sigel. General Hunter was appointed in Sigel's place, and he was ordered to move up the valley and destroy railroads in the vicinity of Staunton and Gordonsville, and General Crook was to come in from the Kanawha. Hunter hastened on and met the enemy within twelve miles of Staunton, and after a conflict of ten hours routed them, capturing 1,500 prisoners; their commander, General Jones, was killed. Hunter lost only fifty men. Three days later he occupied Staunton. Now joined by Crook's troops, he marched toward Lynchburg, to which place Lee had sent a large force by the railway. Hunter's ammunition had given out, and he, skirmishing on the way with the enemy, fell back, not toward Grant's army as was expected, and from which Sheridan made a raid in order to meet him, but toward West Virginia. This retreat left the valley once more open to the Confederates, who, under General Early, pushed on in force to make a raid into Maryland and Pennsylvania to obtain forage and supplies, and as usual make a demonstration against Washington and induce Grant to send reinforcements from his army. The latter promptly sent troops from the James, and ordered others to follow who had just arrived in Hampton Roads from New Orleans.

May 15.

June 5.

Early, with about 20,000 men, moved rapidly down the valley to Martinsburg, where Sigel was in command with a small force. The latter retreated across the Potomac. The enemy followed rapidly, and crossing over arrived at Hagerstown; the citizens paying them $20,000 they agreed not to burn the town. General Lew Wallace attacked the invaders so vigorously with his Union raw levies as to retard them until more troops arrived; then he, being still

July 8.

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outnumbered, fell back, and the Confederates moved toward Washington; but being met by the bold attacks of General Auger they retired across the Potomac, and were in turn pursued by Averill with cavalry, who overtook their rear guard at Winchester and captured 500 prisoners.

By this time Hunter had arrived from West Virginia, and was ordered to maintain his position, but Early was reinforced and again began to move down the valley, forcing the Union troops back by outflanking them.

At this time another Confederate cavalry raid was made into Pennsylvania under McClausland; he suddenly appeared before the village of Chambersburg, then defenceless, and demanded $500,000 ransom. The citizens were unable to raise so large a sum, and the raiders deliberately set the village on fire and burned two-thirds of it. In no instance, as far as known, did the Union soldiers purposely burn the private dwellings of a village.

Aug. 5. General Grant, to satisfy himself, hastened from City Point to confer with General Hunter, and directed him to pursue the Confederates up the valley and "*to keep the enemy in sight*"; to sweep the valley clean of provisions that might aid them, but protect private buildings as far as possible. Hunter expressed a desire to be relieved; Grant accepted the resignation and appointed Sheridan to succeed him, and formed the "Military Department of West Virginia, Washington, and Shenandoah Valley."

Sheridan soon inspired his men with his own enthusiasm, and, being reinforced both by infantry and cavalry, he prepared to act promptly. Grant visited Sheridan to assure himself, and after an interview he was assured that the young commander understood himself and the enemy, and

Sept. 15. his simple order was, "Go in." In two days Sheridan moved, and, early in the morning, attacked Early, and after fighting all day carried his entire position and drove him through Winchester. Early lost 3,500 killed and

Sept. 19. wounded and 5,000 prisoners, and he did not dare stop till he reached Fisher's Hill, thirty miles south of Winchester.

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Scarcely had he halted to rest his men when the indomitable Sheridan pounced upon him, driving his forces through Harrisonburg and Staunton and scattering them through the gaps of the Blue Ridge. Sheridan sent forward his cavalry to destroy a portion of the Virginia Central Railway, and then fell back to Cedar Creek to rest and refresh his men. Sept. 22.

About a month later Early gathered his scattered forces, and, being heavily reinforced, moving rapidly and secretly, he, early in the morning, fell suddenly upon the sleeping Union soldiers, who were completely taken by surprise, but soon recovered themselves and sullenly fell back. Sheridan was at Winchester, twenty miles distant, when his ear first caught the faint roar of booming cannon. Suspecting what was going on, he mounted his horse and rode at full speed, and met his men retreating, they having been driven four miles. He dashed into their midst, and, waving his hat, exclaimed, "Face the other way, boys; we are going back!" Inspired by his presence, his men, with loud cheers, faced about and fell into line. The enemy, for the most part, had stopped to plunder the Federal camp. The Union cavalry, meanwhile, moved round and attacked them in flank, while the encouraged infantry charged in front. They were in a short time completely routed and driven from the field, abandoning everything; neither did they stop until they reached Staunton. Thus ended Confederate efforts to hold the valley or to invade the North. General Grant telegraphed to the Secretary of War: "This glorious victory stamps Sheridan, what I have always thought him, one of the ablest of generals." Sheridan was appointed by the President a Major-General in the regular army in place of General McClellan, who had recently resigned. Oct. 19. Nov. 8.

Colonel Henry Pleasants, of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, a practical miner, proposed to mine a certain point in the enemy's works before Petersburg. The proposition was accepted and the work commenced. In less than a month

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CHAP. LXIV.

it was finished. It extended several hundred feet, and terminated directly under a redoubt. In the mine was placed four tons of powder. It was a success, and was exploded with terrible effect, tearing the redoubt to pieces; but unfortunately, by some mismanagement, the explosion was not followed up by assault, as it ought to have been, and nothing of value was accomplished.

1864. June 25. July 8.

Around Petersburg the defenses were so well arranged and so well manned that it was madness to throw away human life in assaulting them, as one man within such entrenchments was at least equal to five outside. The Union army was not idle. A strong detachment seized Weldon Railway, and held it in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the enemy to dislodge them. Several other movements were made, but without material success—one on the north side of the James, and another at Hatcher's Run.

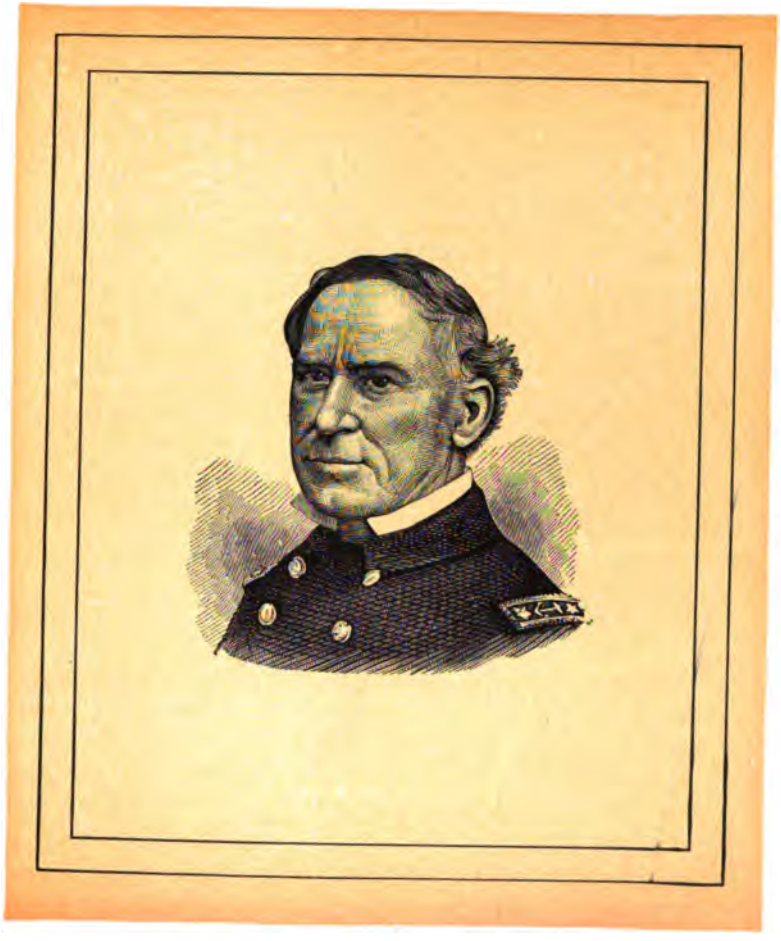
Aug. 18. Oct. 27.

The capture of Mobile—the main port for blockade runners on the Gulf—had been delayed for lack of coöperation on the part of land forces. At length it was undertaken by Admiral Farragut with his iron-clads and war ships, and General Canby, detached from New Orleans for the purpose. The expedition arrived, and arrangements were made on board the flag-ship, the *Hartford*, with General Canby. Mobile Bay is thirty miles long and twelve miles wide, and was defended by several strong forts, and within were floating the Confederates' main reliance, the ram *Tennessee* and several iron-clads—all under Rear-Admiral Buchanan—besides numerous dangerous torpedoes. The troops were landed on the west side of Dauphine Island, on the west side of the Bay, to operate against Fort Gaines.

July 8. Aug. 5.

At 4.45 A.M. the fleet, each vessel having another lashed to it, steamed in between the forts and gave their broadsides at short distance. Admiral Farragut, lashed to the maintop of the *Hartford*, had the fleet under his eye, and gave his commands by signals. The monitor *Tecumseh*,

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D. E. Farragut

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which was to attack the ram *Tennessee*, ran foul of a torpedo and was sunk. Then the Admiral himself turned his attention to the ram. Several vessels ran butt against the *Tennessee*, and poured in their broadsides at short range. Finally the *Hartford* bore down and gave her a broadside of nine-inch solid shot. The *Tennessee* surrendered; Fort Gaines also hauled down its colors. On the east side of the Bay Fort Morgan held out, and was opened upon; after a bombardment of fifteen hours, it ran up the white flag. This closed the port of Mobile to English blockade runners. As the city was strongly fortified, it was not worth the investment.

Aug. 28.

General Rosecrans was assigned to the command in Missouri, his headquarters at St. Louis. This State was infested by disloyal secret societies, and so many soldiers had been sent to reinforce the armies in Northern Georgia that it was stripped of its defenders. Bands of bushwhackers were prowling over the State murdering and pillaging. In one instance they seized a railroad train on which were twenty-two unarmed and sick Union soldiers; these were taken out and shot! Sterling Price took the opportunity to invade the State in which he was once honored as Governor. General Pleasanton, with a force of Union cavalry, pursued and overtook him at Big Blue, crushed his force, and Price fled still further south, and made another stand at the Little Osage. There he was most disastrously defeated, losing all his guns and 1,000 prisoners. So eager were some of the Union soldiers to catch him that they rode one hundred and two miles in thirty-six hours. This was the last of the enemy's raids into Missouri; and the land had rest.

Jan. 20.

Oct. 22.

Oct. 28.

Wilmington, N. C., was defended by Fort Fisher, which commanded the harbor. This place became most important for blockade runners, and the Government resolved to capture the forts and break up this contraband trade. The first expedition failed by mismanagement, and the second captured Fort Fisher, after hard fighting, with its garrison

Jan. 15.

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and entire armament. Two days afterward the Confederates blew up Fort Caswell. This gave the Union navy complete control of the river, much to the grief of the English blockade runners. The Union forces took possession of Wilmington.

Feb. 22.

When Sherman set out for the seaboard, Hood moved northward with an army of 35,000 men, he confronted Thomas's cavalry which checked him near Florence, Alabama, and continued to skirmish before him as he advanced. It was rumored that Hood intended to invade middle Tennessee; numerous expeditions both of Confederate and Federal cavalry were made during the months of October and November. Thomas, meanwhile, was fortifying Nashville, and having the control of the Cumberland river by means of eight gunboats he was at no loss for provisions. General Schofield, who fell back slowly in order to gain time, made a halt at Franklin, his men at once with spade and axe entrenching themselves. This had become a custom with the Union soldiers, their aptness enabled them to throw up breastworks in an almost incredibly short time. Hood assaulted these defenses of logs and earth several times, and was as often repulsed with great loss; he had 1,750 killed and 3,800 wounded while Schofield had only 189 killed and 1,033 wounded. Schofield fell back, in accordance with orders, to Nashville; the next day Hood's cavalry came up and the day after the infantry; their progress was arrested by a series of fortifications on the hills around the city.

Nov. 30.

Dec. 8.

Much uneasiness was felt in the country because Thomas did not attack Hood, and even Grant was on the eve of relieving him of command.

Dec. 15.

When ready the sure but cautious Thomas moved out of Nashville, a heavy fog—which did not lift till noon—favoring secrecy, with all his troops in order. A heavy demonstration was made against Hood's right by General Stedman, by which movement Hood was deceived, and sent reinforcements from his left and center. Then at the proper moment

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Generals Smith and Wilson swung round and attacked the weak point and carried every thing before them; in one instance, the cavalry dismounted and carried a redoubt sabre in hand, then a second redoubt the same troops carried in the same manner. Then Montgomery Hill, Hood's most advanced position, was carried and many prisoners captured. Thus the Confederates were driven out of their original line of works and forced back along the base of Harpeth Hills, a new position. The result of the day was the capture of 1,200 prisoners and sixteen pieces of artillery, arms and wagons; the Union loss was light.

Dec. 16. The Federal army bivouacked on the field, and prepared to drive the enemy on the morrow. At 6 A.M. they drove back the enemy's skirmishers, and came upon a line of works constructed during the night on Overton's hill. Thomas soon arranged his men with a purpose, and felt of the enemy along their lines, then about 3 P.M. ordered an assault on Overton's hill. This was in full sight of Hood, who sent reinforcements from his right and center. The columns moved to the assault, and thoroughly drew the enemy's fire, but they were finally compelled to fall back to be reformed. The signal was given and then upon the Confederate right and center, thus weakened, rushed the Union forces under Smith and Schofield, and carried all before them with the greatest impetuosity. Meanwhile, the assaulting columns—having been reformed—for the second time moved upon Overton's hill, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. In this assault the colored troops behaved with great bravery. The whole Confederate line was broken beyond recovery; the pursuit continued till dark. This was a most disastrous defeat. From Hood's entrance till his retreat from Tennessee he lost at least 24,000 men and 53 pieces of artillery. The desertions from his ranks were enormous; so that the power of the rebellion in the West was now broken forever.

Nov. 18. Breckenridge was detailed by the Confederate authorities to move into East Tennessee, especially to capture

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CHAP. LXIV. 1864.

Knoxville. He had some success at first, but General Stoneman, then at Louisville, was sent to take command, and in the short space of four days he drove the Confederate forces out of that portion of the State. The Union men of East Tennessee suffered terribly in this war, but with heroic courage, and amid disappointments the most discouraging, they maintained their integrity and loyalty to the government founded by their fathers. Nor would we depreciate, but rather extol, the courage, the perseverance and the self-denial of those other Southern men who, though misguided, met the Federals on many a battle-field, and with them displayed equal courage.

Unfortunately the mass of the Southern people, especially in the rural portions of the country, were not fully informed on the questions at issue. Certain leaders called into existence prejudices against the people of the free States, by representing them as hostile to the interests of the South, while at the same time they urged their own extreme theories in respect to State sovereignty; on these points this class of the Southern people had opportunity to hear only one side, and from these partial statements a portion of them came honestly to believe they had a right to secede from the Union. It was also a singular feature of this contest that so great numbers of private soldiers were drawn by conscription [1] from the ranks of those who never owned slaves, and who instinctively opposed a war designed to protect and extend that system; and who also, upon every occasion, when the question was fairly presented, voted against secession. Though thus forced into the army they fought bravely, and not till utterly exhausted did they succumb. The women of the South, likewise, displayed heroic fortitude, aided their own soldiers, and, in the midst of trials almost unparalleled, cheered them by the example of their own self-sacrificing labors.

[1] Hist. p. 943.

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CHAPTER LXV.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Grant's design.—Platforms of Parties.—Second Inauguration—Disposition of Union forces.—Lee's Plans—Battle of Five Forks.—Jefferson Davis Flees.—Lee Surrenders.—Richmond on Fire and Occupied.—Johnston's Surrender.—The Assassination.—The Funeral.—Andrew Johnson.—The Interview between Mr. Lincoln and Grant and Sherman.—Union Loss in the Rebellion.—Blockade Raised.—The Old Flag on Sumter.—Amnesty Proclamation—English Cruisers.—Alabama and Kearsage.—Lord John Russell's Protest.—Louis Napoleon.—No French Blockade Runners.—Provisional Governors.—Telegraph—Reconstruction.—Impeachment Trial.—Presidential Election.

WE now return to before Richmond. The victory of Thomas and the advance of Sherman toward the coast had given a sad aspect to the Confederate cause. It was Grant's design to keep Lee and his forces in and around Richmond till such time as he could be captured with his whole army, as he might possibly retreat by Lynchburg to south western Virginia or to western North Carolina, and protract the war still further.

The platforms of the two parties, Republican and Democratic, may be taken as exponents of their political views during this Presidential canvass. The former said: "We approve the determination of the government not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States." And "as slavery was the cause of this rebellion," and used for its aid, the Convention expressed itself in favor of an amendment to the Constitution that should forever prohibit slavery in the United States. The Convention also approved the Emancipation Proclamation and the "employment as Union

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CHAP. LXV. 1864.

soldiers of men hitherto held in slavery"; and "that the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate."

The Democratic Convention resolved "That this Convention does explicitly declare that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to a Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." The Convention was silent in respect to slavery and the payment of the public debt. Mr. Lincoln was elected; only three States cast their votes for McClellan.

Why the Confederates did not submit with as good grace as they could after their defeat at Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson—all within ten days—is one of the marvels of this marvelous rebellion. They were expecting the Democratic party to come into power in 1864, which they deemed more favorable to them. Says Childe: "The choice assured the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the defeat of General McClellan, who was regarded as more favorable to the Southerners."[1] The inconsiderate boast was made again and again by some of their leaders that they would never submit, but as guerrillas take to the fastnesses of the mountains. Under the circumstances this was nothing short of madness. Had they been fighting against a people of different race and civilization, such sentiments might savor of patriotism.

On the Fourth of March Mr. Lincoln entered upon his second Presidential term. In the course of his inaugural he uses the following striking language: "Fondly do we hope, personally do we pray, that the scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills it to continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every

[1] Life of Lee, p. 291.

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drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so, still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." Further on he indicates his purpose, saying: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right." CHAP. LXV. 1864.

Dispositions were now made of the Union forces that would in a short campaign break the Confederacy to pieces. Sheridan from the valley was to move toward Lynchburg, destroying James River Canal and railroads; and Stoneman to move from East Tennessee with a cavalry force of 5,000; one from Vicksburg, 7,000 or 8,000 strong, to sweep through Northern Mississippi; one from East Port, Miss., numbering 10,000; General Canby, from Mobile, with a mixed army of 38,000, to move on Tuscaloosa, Selma and Montgomery; and 5,000 cavalry were to start from Nashville. These movements were to be simultaneous as much as possible.

Of these, Sheridan was the first to move. He left Winchester with two divisions of cavalry each 5,000 strong. Passing up the valley, entered Staunton; the enemy retreated, and he pushed on in pursuit to find them in force under General Early in an intrenched position at Waynesboro. Without waiting to reconnoiter, he assaulted the works and carried them, and secured 1,500 prisoners and eleven pieces of artillery. Thence his men rode to Charlottesville, making havoc of railroads and bridges, toward Lynchburg and Richmond, moving along the James River Canal, destroying locks and cutting the banks to let out the water, then passed around and north of Richmond and joined the army before Petersburg. This was the most effective cavalry raid of the war. 1865. Feb. 27. Mar. 3. Mar. 24.

Lee had laid plans to evacuate both Petersburg and Richmond, and unite near Danville with the force of Johnston, who was to fall back from before Sherman's advance. To cover this movement he made a vigorous attack on

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CHAP. LXV. 1865. Mar. 25. Grant's army, intending when it was in confusion to march rapidly by the Cox road toward Danville. Accordingly Confederate troops under General Gordon, at daylight, furiously assaulted Fort Stedman, a point in the Union lines. The garrison were surprised by the suddenness of the attack, and were overpowered. The triumph was short. The neighboring Union forts poured in their shot so incessantly that in a short time Gordon's troops, 2,000 in all, were forced to surrender. General Meade now ordered forward the Second and Sixth Corps, who seized the Confederate well-intrenched picket line, securing a large number of prisoners. . On the extreme Federal left a similar move was made with similar success. At 2 P.M. Lee made an effort to regain these lines, but his forces were repulsed in every attempt, and with great loss. To make a junction with Johnston was now impossible.

Grant at once resolved to attack the enemy and cut off their retreat by the Danville road. In preparation he secretly sent troops to his extreme left and gave orders to Mar. 28. Sheridan to move on Dinwiddie Court House. Lee learned of these movements, and suspecting the design threw 17,000 of his best men to the support of his right. A severe storm of rain retarded operations for two days. Lee endeavored to use his accustomed tactics of throwing a Mar. 31. large force upon a weak point, and in this battle of White Oak road he gained advantage at first, but only to be beaten off; and finally the Federal troops carried the very earthworks from which the enemy issued, and obtained possession of the road.

Lee had fortified Five Forks—a crossing where five roads meet—a strategic point of great importance, by which was his only way of retreat. Toward this place both armies made their way. When the Union cavalry reached Five Forks they found the enemy in position and were compelled to fall back. The Confederates at once pushed on vigorously, and fording a stream attacked Sheridan's left center and drove it back; but presently a fresh brigade, by

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a gallant onset, checked their advance for a time. Sheridan dismounted his cavalry and managed them so skillfully as to repel the attack at every point. At dark the Confederates withdrew to their entrenchments at Five Forks, where Lee had concentrated his forces. The control of the coming battle was entrusted to Sheridan, who was on the field, by Generals Grant and Meade. The former promptly made dispositions of his troops, and in the early morning commenced the attack. The Union force under General Merrit drove the Confederates in front of them to the Five Forks skirmish line, then by impetuous attacks they were by two P.M. driven within their main works. Sheridan in his report says: "The enemy were driven from their strong line of works and completely routed; the Fifth Corps doubling up their left flank in confusion and the cavalry of General Merritt dashing on to the White Oak road, capturing their artillery and turning it upon them, and riding into their broken ranks so demoralized them that they made no serious stand after their line was carried, but took to flight in disorder." The Confederates were pursued six miles, and lost, besides the killed and wounded, between five and six thousand prisoners.

CHAP. LXV. 1865. Apr. 1.

The following night was made hideous by a constant bombardment along the whole Union line, and at 4 A.M. Sunday, a combined assault was successfully made upon the enemy's works and the South Side Railroad was seized. The Confederates, driven on their left by Meade and by Sheridan on their right, were broken, and in great confusion rushed in a mass westward by the main road along the bank of the Appomattox. Apr. 2.

The following night was one of terror in Richmond. At the last moment the citizens were convinced that their city must fall into the hands of the Federal troops. Jefferson Davis had already gone. When in church in the afternoon he received a telegram from Lee, stating that his army had been driven from their fortifications, and Petersburg was occupied, and he must evacuate Richmond. Lee was

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CHAP. LXV. 1865.

moving toward the Danville road, in hopes to form a junction with Johnston, who, at his instance, had been put in command of the Confederates hastily concentrated to oppose Sherman. It was of vast importance that both Lee's and Johnston's armies should be captured and the war ended. At length, when Lee was completely surrounded, General Apr. 7. Grant sent a note under a flag of truce to him, saying, "I regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of the army under your command." Several communications passed between the opposing generals. Finally Grant wrote, "The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed." An interview was held between the two commanders. The result was the Confederates laid down their arms, and were paroled as prisoners of war and per- Apr. 9. mitted to return to their homes. "The victors were magnanimous; they abstained from every appearance of insult toward the vanquished. Abundant victuals were distributed to the prisoners, who were dying of hunger."[1]

On Monday, April 4th, about noon, General Weitzel occupied Richmond, which was in a sad condition, on fire, and in the hands of thieves and robbers. The Union soldiers, as so often before, used their efforts to extinguish the flames and arrest the plundering. Both of these were accomplished by night, when peace and order once more reigned. Thus it was, from the wanton burning of Hampton village to the firing of Richmond, the private property of the Southern people suffered from the insane folly of her leaders. General Ewell, commanding the rear guard of the Confederate army, destroyed the bridges over the James river, and then, obeying his instructions to the letter, but against the earnest protest of the mayor and principal citizens, set on fire warehouses and flour-mills. Says Pollard,

[1] Life of Lee, p. 321.

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SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE

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"The warehouses were fired; the flames seized on the neighboring buildings, and soon involved a wide and widening area. The conflagration passed beyond control, and in this mad fire, this wild, unnecessary destruction of private property, the citizens of Richmond had a fitting souvenir of the imprudence and recklessness of the departing administration."

Jefferson Davis paused in his flight at Danville, Virginia, to issue a proclamation; after alluding to the abandonment of Petersburg and Richmond he says: "Virginia, with the help of the people, and by the blessing of Providence, shall be held and defended, and no peace ever be made with the infamous invaders of her territory." A little more than a month afterward, he was captured while in disguise attempting to escape. He was brought to Fortress Monroe and there imprisoned under an indictment for treason, but his trial was postponed from time to time, and finally he was released on bail. When the Union troops arrived at Columbia, South Carolina, they found the place evacuated by Wade Hampton, who before leaving had ordered the cotton stored in the place to be burned, much of it in bales in the street; the Union soldiers labored to put out the fire and thought they were successful, but at night came up a high wind, the smouldering fire revived and spread in spite of the Provost Marshal and his soldiers; the greater portion of the beautiful village was burned.

May 11.

1867.

General Sherman pressed on Johnston, and having received the news of the surrender of Lee, he moved from Goldsboro to Raleigh, the capital of the State, which place was occupied, much to the relief of the inhabitants, who were being pillaged by desperadoes from their own army. Johnston also had heard of Lee's surrender, and sent a flag of truce to Sherman asking an armistice preliminary to a surrender; a conference was held by the two commanders and an arrangement made for the surrender of Johnston's army; this was so far modified by the authorities at Washington as to conform to the conditions on which Lee

1865. Apr. 17.

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CHAP. LXV. 1865.

had surrendered. The other Confederate armies throughout the South submitted, Kirby Smith in Texas being the last; and thus the greatest rebellion in history collapsed.

In the midst of the rejoicings at the downfall of Lee and capture of Richmond, and the sure anticipation of the fate of Johnston's army, the President was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth; a violent sympathiser with the rebellion, though of Northern birth. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were seated in a private box in a theater when the fatal shot was fired, at about half past nine in the evening; Mr. Lincoln lingered till twenty minutes past seven the following morning. Never before did the nation manifest such intense grief as this event produced. The sorrow of the army was striking and remarkable; yet those noble men in the midst of their grief never whispered of retaliation in any form. Says General Johnston in relation to the bearing of the Union army after his own surrender, and just after the assassination became known: "The Union soldiers treated the people around them as they would have done those of Ohio or New York if stationed among them as their fellow citizens."[1]

Apr. 14.

Mr. Lincoln had endeared himself to all, even to great numbers of his political opponents, by his self devotion and kindness of heart, and that rare combination of talent and common sense which made him equal to any emergency in which he might be placed. In him the Southern people lost their best friend; and that truth the intelligent among them recognized. The remains of the Martyr President were carried to Springfield, Illinois, his former place of residence. It was an immense funeral procession, lasting for fourteen days; the people along the route thronging in crowds to pay honor to his memory. He was laid in his last resting place on the 4th of May.

It would seem the conspirators aimed at the same time to assassinate the members of the Cabinet. The attempt was made to kill Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, who at the

[1] Military Narrative, p. 419.

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time was confined to his room by illness. The assassin failed though he wounded Mr. Seward, and also his son Frederick W., assistant Secretary. CHAP. LXV. 1865.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Andrew Johnson, by virtue of his office as Vice-President, and in accordance with the law, assumed the duties of President of the United States. He was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina; thence removed to Greenville, Tennessee. In his youth his education had been much neglected, not even knowing the alphabet at the age of seventeen; but by his energy and perseverance he not only educated himself but won the respect of his fellow citizens, who elected him alderman, then Mayor; then their representative in the Legislature, then to Congress and finally Governor of the State. Apr. 15.

Booth escaped by leaping from the box to the stage, and then by a side door to the street, where a horse was in readiness, which he mounted and rode rapidly away, accompanied by an accomplice named Harold. He was pursued vigorously, and a few days afterward was traced to a barn in lower Maryland, and when it was surrounded he was ordered to surrender, but refused, though Harold gave himself up. Booth, in desperation, resolved to sell his life dearly, but before he could do harm he was shot down by Sergeant Corbett, one of his pursuers. Others of the conspirators were arrested, tried by court martial, four of them were found guilty and hanged, and the three accomplices were sentenced to imprisonment for life. July 7.

In an interview between President Lincoln and Generals Grant and Sherman, on board a steamer at City Point, Virginia, the two generals gave as their opinion that one more bloody battle would have to be fought before the power of the rebellion could be broken. Mr. Lincoln, with deep emotion, exclaimed more than once, "That there had been blood enough shed, and asked if another Mar. 28.

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CHAP. LXV. 1865.

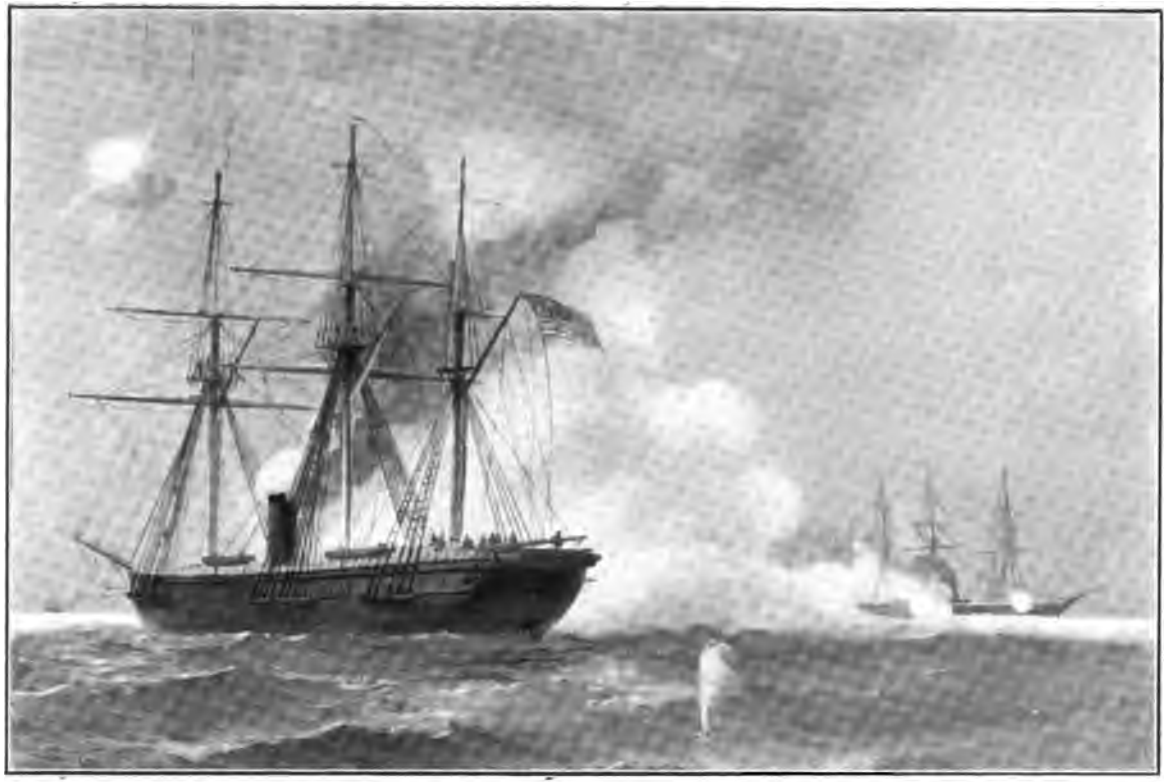
battle could not be avoided." The answer was, "That depended on Jefferson Davis and General Lee." During the interim Mr. Lincoln said, "All he wanted for us was to defeat the opposing armies, and to get the men composing the Confederate armies back to their homes, at work on their farms and in their shops,"[1] "and restore all the men of both sections to their homes." In accordance with this sentiment General Grant, as soon as Lee surrendered, advised the reduction of the armies, that the men might return to civil life and their duties as citizens; he even did not visit Richmond, but hastened to Washington to facilitate the disbandment. During the last weeks of April and the first of May were witnessed many imposing scenes, — the returning soldiers undergoing their last reviews before leaving for their distant homes to be mustered out of the service, and to resume their duties as citizens. Such an imposing sight was never before seen of armies so large, the soldiers of which had so intelligent a view of the great principles for the establishment of which they had freely risked their lives in the perils of battle. They were greeted by ovations all along their route, and welcomed home as the saviors of the Union—that heirloom handed down from the fathers. Yet, also, how sad the occasion; amid the joy many an eye filled with tears and breast heaved with sorrow for the numbers who went at their country's call but who had laid down their lives on distant battle-fields. Many a regiment with its full complement of men which had set out inspired with hope and patriotism, came back with its banners draggled and battered by hostile balls, and perhaps with not more than one-fourth of its original number.

The following is a record copied from the lists at the War Office, at Washington, of the killed and wounded on the Union side during the Rebellion:

Killed	35,406
Died of wounds	49,205
Wounded	400,935

[1] Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 326-7.

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THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE KEARSARGE AND THE ALABAMA

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CHAP. LXV. 1865.

There has not been kept a perfect roll or list of the Confederate killed and wounded, but the number is estimated at very nearly the same.

The nation incurred a debt of nearly three thousand million dollars, which has been so far paid as to amount now to about $964,893,000,—or less than one thousand millions; the nation having paid more than two thirds of its debt in the last thirty-six years. 1902.

The Government, as soon as it was proper, raised the blockade of the Southern ports and reduced both the army and navy. The men of the army, in a remarkably short time, returned to their homes and families, and entered upon their civil duties with the self-respect natural to those who honestly have performed services in defense of their common country. The immense number of ships, now no longer wanted by the Government, were disposed of to the highest bidders; all property thus useless was sold, and the proceeds appropriated to paying the debt incurred. 1865.

Charleston was evacuated, and the Stars and Stripes once more floated over the city of nullification and secession. The heart of the city had been burned during the bombardment, and "the rebel garrison, when leaving, fired the railroad depots, which fire had spread, and was only subdued by our troops after they had reached the city."[1] On the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter the veritable flag—tattered and torn—which floated over "that fort during the rebel assault" was replaced by Major, now Major-General, Robert Anderson with imposing ceremonies, and was honored by a salute of one hundred national guns "from every fort and rebel battery that fired on Fort Sumter."[2] Feb. 18. Apr. 14.

President Johnson issued an amnesty proclamation, in which pardon was offered to all who would take an oath of allegiance to the United States, except certain specified classes who had held offices in the cause of the rebellion. May 29.

[1] Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 269.
[2] Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 290.

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CHAP. LXV. 1865. On the 4th of July, 1868, the President granted pardon unconditionally to all who were not at that time under indictment for treason, and finally, December 25th, he extended pardon to all without exception.

A number of cruisers, among which were the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and the *Georgia*, were fitted out in English shipyards to prey on American commerce, under the flag of the so-called Confederacy—it not having a single port into which they could enter. These vessels were more or less manned by English seamen under Confederate captains, and into whatever port they entered in the British Empire they were welcomed, furnished supplies and armaments, and permitted to make repairs if needed, and also to enlist men if necessary. Though the English Government had issued a proclamation against the reception and aiding these vessels, yet it was a dead letter; neither did the Government itself make an efficient effort to enforce the law or to punish those who violated it. The *Alabama* was built expressly for this purpose, and was permitted to steam out of the Mersey, whence she went to the Azores, and there, by appointment, received her full armament of guns and stores sent from London. Raphael Semmes there took command, with a crew of 26 officers and 85 men, mostly
Aug. 24. British seamen. She, eluding her pursuers, roamed over the ocean for two years, destroying nearly seventy American vessels; storeships from Liverpool, by arrangement, furnishing her from time to time with war material and provisions. At length she appeared at Cherbourg in France, but the American Minister protested so strenuously that the French Government gave her permission to obtain coal and provisions, but not to use the national navy-yard in which to be repaired. Meanwhile, Captain John A. Wins-
1864. June 10. low, of the United States gunboat *Kearsarge*—lying in a port of Holland—learned that the famous cruiser was at Cherbourg, and he immediately steamed out and soon appeared off that harbor, watching for the cruiser to put to sea. Semmes, finding he could not escape—as the *Kear-*

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sarge was a swifter vessel than the *Alabama*,—proclaimed that he intended to fight his adversary. CHAP. LXV.

1864. June 19.

The *Alabama* came out of port and the *Kearsage* steamed ahead seven miles, to get beyond French jurisdiction, and so far that the *Alabama* could not get back to the neutral line—three miles out—before he could overhaul her. At the right time the *Kearsage* turned and made for her antagonist, running at half-speed and only firing one gun for her two; coming within close range, her guns were shotted with shells of five seconds' fuse. The 11-inch shells of the *Kearsage* went through the *Alabama's* starboard and burst in the port side, and between decks, with terrific effect. Five English trained gunners were put on board the *Alabama* the evening before the action, but they seemed to lose their skill, as the *Kearsage* was scarcely injured. In an hour and ten minutes' time the *Alabama* was sinking beyond recovery, and Semmes hauled down his colors. A friendly English yacht was near and Captain Winslow asked the owner to aid in saving the crew of the sinking ship. Semmes was taken on board the yacht which slipped away to Southampton, where much sympathy was expressed for him and his cause.

Under date of April 1, 1864, Lord John Russell, in a communication to Jefferson Davis, as President of the "so-called Confederacy," protested against his employing agents in England to obtain "vessels for war purposes against the United States." Had this protest been made three years before it might have been of benefit, but it was now too late; the mischief was done, and the United States government had a record of all the vessels destroyed by these English-built cruisers, and in due time would demand payment for the damage. This fact the English authorities had already learned.

Apr. 1.

Though Louis Napoleon seems to have been desirous in some way to act as mediator to stop the "fratricidal strife," and was thought to be unfriendly to the Union, because it was a Republic, yet no Frenchman, as far as

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CHAP. LXV. 1865. known, endeavored to advance his pecuniary interest by running the blockade, and thus aiding the enemies of the Union by furnishing them the munitions of war.

Dec. 18. The slavery question came up again, and Congress proposed an amendment to the Constitution (Article XIII.), by which slavery was to be forever abolished throughout the Union. This was ratified by the States—three-fourths of the number voting for its adoption—and became a portion of the organic law of the land. In order to protect the Freedmen in their new position the Civil Rights Bill was passed over President Johnson's veto.

1866. Apr. 9.

This year a lawless attempt was made by a society known as Fenians who wished to free Ireland from British sway by invading Canada. They were driven back after some skirmishing. The President issued a proclamation denouncing the enterprise as a violation of neutrality, and cautioning all engaged in it to desist. General Meade, who was sent to the frontier, soon put an end to the movement.

Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, a native of Massachusetts, then a resident of New York City, in whose university his experiments were first made, gave to the world the electric telegraph. It is vain to conjecture the full benefit that will accrue to the human family from this invention. May it be a harbinger of peace, a link to unite the nations in a common union of friendship! The first attempt to lay a cable across the Atlantic ocean succeeded, but for some unknown cause it ceased to act after a few sentences were transmitted. Nine years afterward another cable was laid, the enterprise owing its success to the energy of Cyrus W. Field, of New York City. Other lines have been laid connecting Europe with the United States, while others have united us with our southern neighbors. Also soundings have been made from San Francisco to Japan, across the Pacific, and a route on the bed of that ocean found feasible for laying a cable.

1844. 1857. 1866. 1874.

1865. Mar. 3. Congress passed a bill instructing the Director of the Mint to place the motto "In God we Trust" upon

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Samt. F. B. Morse

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all coins issued whose size would admit the words—an appropriate motto for a Christian Nation.

The reconstruction of the Union—by which the seceding States were to be received back—was a most difficult question to settle; Congress and the President held almost opposite opinions on the subject.

Two words were used—Restoration and Reconstruction; these differed widely in their meanings. The first expressed the President's "policy," as he termed it; that was to receive the recently rebellious States back into the Union just as they had been before the war, taking no note of the relation now held to the General Government, and to the whole Nation, by those who were once slaves, but now free men, and as such citizens. The conditions which the President required were that the people of these States should acquiesce in the abolition of slavery, repudiate the rebel debt, and repeal the ordinances of secession. Reconstruction meant the readmission of the lately rebellious States, with constitutional guarantees given by them, that the freedmen and their children should be recognized and treated as citizens.

The second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, according to law, came to a close March 3d, 1865, and the Thirty-ninth would not assemble till December 4th. Meanwhile, in furtherance of his "policy" of restoration, the President appointed provisional governors over certain States recently in rebellion; to these officials he gave special instructions. From May 29th to July 13th he appointed seven governors to as many States. He directed them to have the people send delegates to conventions, which should repeal the ordinances of secession, acquiesce in the abolition of slavery, and repudiate the debt of the late "pretended Confederacy." If compliance was made with these conditions they were given to

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CHAP. LXV. 1865.

understand that at the next session of Congress their representatives would be admitted to the councils of the Nation. This was an assumption on the part of the President. He had no authority as the executive to restore these States; that power belonged to the legislative branch of the Government, and as such under the Constitution this branch had always exercised that authority in admitting States. The undue haste in which the President pressed his "policy" of restoration, and the lack of courtesy shown the legislative branch of the Government, created alarm in the minds of the intelligent loyal men of the Nation. If the President deemed the readmission of these States so very urgent, why did he not call an extra session of Congress?

It is remarkable that in each instance of the death of the three Presidents who died while in office, the Vice-Presidents succeeding them in a singular manner changed their views in relation to the principles of the party which had elected them, and instead sympathized more or less with the opposing political organization.[1] The three Presidents who died in office were in principle of the same political party; for in reality we have had only two prominent parties in our political history, and these virtually preserved their own affiliations. The one in its principles descended under two different names—Whig and Republican—from that grand organization, the Federal, whose ideas of government were comprehensive and whose aims were national, and which under Washington established the Government and inaugurated our present policy of neutrality in respect to wars between foreign nations; the other—the Democratic—took its rise in opposition, especially to that policy, and without change of name[2] has come down to our own time, meanwhile

[1] Hist., p. 737.

[2] Hist., p. 583.

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having its influence and share in moulding the destinies of the nation. CHAP. LXV. 1866.

Andrew Johnson was a most violent denouncer of the principle of secession and of "unrepentant rebels." He was specially severe on *treason*, proclaiming he "would make it odious." This announcement was made within a short time after he became President. Yet, during the recess of Congress, his administration of affairs connected with "restoration" was calculated, if not intended, to give those recently in rebellion every facility to carry out their plans. He also announced himself about the same time "a Moses to lead the colored people to freedom," but every bill adopted to aid them, or secure their rights as citizens, had to be passed *over his veto*—The Civil Rights Bill, The Freedmen's and Refugees Bill. The latter proposed to aid the "whites" who had been rendered destitute by the rebellion, as well as the freedmen. This bureau was of great advantage to both these classes, and being temporary in its operations, it was repealed as soon as the end was attained of putting these unfortunate people in the way of supporting themselves. July 16.

In accordance with the instructions of the President, the delegates were elected, and in due time assembled in conventions, and by vote complied with the three requirements already mentioned. The legislatures and Congressmen were as promptly elected; the former speedily meeting in session, chose United States senators, and nearly all were ready to enter upon their duties as participators in the national councils on the opening of the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress. 1865, Dec. 4.

According to the law hitherto in force in those States, "These conventions had no power either to adopt a new constitution or to amend an old one without the consent

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of the people." The latter had not been invited to vote on them, nor were the writs issued in a legal form for the election of the Legislatures and the Congressmen. The latter gentlemen, in order to enter upon their duties as national legislators, were willing to waive these trifling legal technicalities.

1865.

Another feature was quite remarkable. In the elections for representatives in the House as well as senators chosen, those who had been Union men, or loyal to the Government were rejected, and none but those who had been aiding or in sympathy with the rebellion were elected. Numbers could not take the prescribed oath; many were unpardoned, and did not conceal their hostility to the Union. These sentiments seemed to simple minds to indicate that these would-be legislators had only made a change of base.

Several of the conventions in these States deprecated Congress making enactments in respect to the political condition of the freedmen. The coincidence is marked. President Johnson says in his first annual message to Congress: "In my judgment, the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the States than through the General Government;" again: "It is not competent for Congress to extend the elective franchise in the several States."

1865, Dec. 4.

Meanwhile the Legislatures, which had been recently elected, entered upon their duties, and enacted laws adapted to the new order of things. It is very strange they displayed so little prudence; yet that fact gives a clearer manifestation of the animating spirit of which they seem to have been unconscious. The negro now being a freedman, they hastened to make laws in order to

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utilize him. They were anxious to secure his labor, but upon their own terms; imposing conditions in respect to contracts, by laws which could be so construed as to bear hard upon the freedman, without affording corresponding facilities for him to obtain redress for injury or pay for his labor. These law-givers professed to be anxious lest the freedmen should become paupers; yet they, when slaves, of their own accord, for three or four years during the war had raised the crops and supported themselves and the families of their masters, while the latter were in the Confederate army. History records no instance of such disinterested loyalty; though they had heard of the proclamation of their freedom, yet they protected the defenceless women and children and committed no outrages;[1] this was a boon beyond price to their nominal owners. The moment the latter had the opportunity they repaid this kindness and loyalty by enacting laws that could be so interpreted as to hold these freedmen and their children in a modified form of slavery and ignorance forever.

A brief summary of the salient points in the laws relating to freedmen, thus enacted in *ten* of the former rebellious States, may illustrate their spirit. These laws, however, became an occasion of good, for they compelled Congress, as a matter of justice and humanity, to secure in some permanent form the rights of the freedmen as citizens.

In accordance with these enactments the colored people were "eligible as witnesses," "where the rights of persons or property of persons of color shall be put in issue." "In all other civil and criminal cases such evidence shall be deemed inadmissable unless by *consent* of the parties

[1] Testimony of Senator Gordon of Georgia, vol. vi. p. 334. Report of Joint Committee on Outrages.

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of record." Under the term "vagrant"—which was given a very liberal interpretation—young colored persons could be seized and bound by indenture or apprenticed—the male to the age of *twenty-one*, the female to *eighteen*, if their parents could not support them, or if they were out of employment. These conditions seem to have been decided by the magistrates alone. The wishes of parents were apparently seldom recognized; but in *securing* these indentured servants the *former owners*, under certain conditions, had the preference. By law in one State—Louisiana—the *first ten days* in each January were set apart for making contracts with the freedmen for the year. If the latter engaged he was held for the year, virtually without redress for wrong done him. If injuries happened to the animals or accidents to the implements he used, he was held responsible, or, in other words, he was charged with the "wear and tear" of the plantation. Several of these Legislatures forbade by law colored men "to keep fire-arms of any kind"—the penalty usually being a fine twice the value of the fire-arm—and if the fine was not immediately paid, the delinquent was made to suffer.

Under the interpretation of the term "vagrant" the poor colored people—male and female—had scarcely any redress. Gen. A. H. Terry, when in command, found it necessary by order to forbid the enforcement of the laws of the Virginia Legislature in relation to "vagrants." The reason given: "wrongful combinations of employers have been entered into for the purpose of depressing the wages of freedmen below the real value of their labor." In the State of Mississippi the law did not "allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns and cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same." A law of South Carolina

Jan. 24.

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"provided that no person of color shall pursue or practise the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper, employment or business on his own account, and for his own benefit, without a license." The latter ranged in price from ten dollars to one hundred. No such license was required of a white man. A poll-tax of one dollar was levied on colored men over *twenty-one* years of age, and of fifty cents on colored females over *eighteen*. White females were not thus taxed. This code of South Carolina Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, when in command, unceremoniously blotted out by a special order;[1] and Provisional Governor Perry felt constrained to dissolve the convention of the same State as a "revolutionary body," even when assembled under the "Instructions." CHAP. LXV. 1866. Jan. 17.

It is easy to see that the effect of this legislation would be to hold the freedmen and their posterity in a state very little above that of the old system of slavery. They were nominally free men, but could have no opportunity of effectually defending themselves or their children under such laws from being ignorant serfs. These laws appear to have been enacted in the expectation that the President's plan of restoration would be adopted, as they were all passed within six months. They reflected the animus of the ruling classes in the lately insurgent States, and disclosed a reason for the non-adoption of the President's theory of restoration. Had these Legislatures passed liberal laws in respect to the freedmen, treated them kindly, and endeavored to give them a chance to succeed in their new relation as citizens of their several communities, and of the whole Union, it is more than probable the President's unauthorized action would have been overlooked to a great extent, and perhaps in a modified form adopted. At the time there was an unusual 1865, Nov. 22, to 1866, May 25.

[1] Condensed from McPherson's Handbook of Politics, pp. 29-44.

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feeling of good will abroad among the people of the loyal States toward those who had been misguided or forced into the rebellion, and they were willing to make many concessions, hoping, meanwhile, the poor freedmen would now be permitted to have brighter prospects for themselves and their children. But the spirit of these laws changed the entire aspect of the issue. This leniency of the loyal people has attracted the attention of foreign writers. Says one, "The North, singularly merciful in her use of victory, inflicted no penalty on those whom she had defeated."[1]

In respect to the action of the President, it was argued he had no power except under the laws as chief Executive. These laws gave him as commander-in-chief of the army no authority over the organization of territories nor of these recently rebellious States. It was simply his duty to restore order, to protect the people against violence until provision should be made by Congress for their government. These States were still under martial law, and the provisional governors could exercise military authority merely to preserve order. The President as the chief military authority could only depute similar authority to his subordinates. He might "recognize the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union," and on that supposition act in his military capacity. This was far different from taking initiative measures to restore States which had been in rebellion, and were still under martial law, "to all the rights and privileges of the Union." The latter "process" would be an encroachment upon a co-ordinate branch of the Government. Under the Constitution Congress itself alone has the authority to secure to each State of the Union a "republican form of government."

[1] Mackenzie's Hist. of the Nineteenth Century, p. 77.

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This duty cannot be assigned to the War Department; hence military governors could not establish State governments. Congress, as a rule, authorized by an "enabling act" territories to form constitutions and apply for admission into the Union, and if the conditions are complied with they are received as States.

On the other hand it was argued that these States, after they had repealed the ordinances of secession, were back in the Union just as they were before the firing on Sumter;[1] then again that these ordinances in the first instance were null and void, and therefore during the conflicts of the last four years they were really in the Union, but in an insurrectionary state, and when order was restored their State sovereignty was interfered with in their not being as such recognized.

In this controversy, which lasted for two years, the framers of the laws quoted had the moral support of those in the North who had not been specially anxious that the loyal portion of the people should bring the disloyal into obedience to the Government. This influence encouraged the original disunionists during the late rebellion, and after its close, to resist reconstruction except in the form of restoration, that would leave the freedmen at their mercy, and thus retard the progress of the country for an indefinite period.

The question in respect to the future condition of the freedmen was far more important than *abstract theories* as to whether or not the rebellious States were in the Union as soon as their last army surrendered. It was evident from the spirit of the laws referred to, and the tone of popular feeling which dictated them, the design

[1] Majority and Minority Reports of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Handbook of Politics, pp. 84–104.

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was to hold the colored race in a sort of peonage. Under the slave code it was a penal offence to teach them to read and write; this law was blotted out, but still the prospect of improvement derived from schools under the conditions was almost hopeless. Were these four million of the negro race to be left subject to the unjust laws of their recent nominal owners? They would now be reckoned citizens of the Union, and as such represented in the national councils, but would have no voice in the selection of their own representatives. This would be even more unjust to the people of the whole Nation than the former arrangement of representation under the system of slavery. This evil, however, was trifling when compared with an infinitely greater one—that of keeping the colored race in a state of helpless ignorance and virtual slavery. Under such depressing influences they must become necessarily a hindrance to material progress, and thus affect the interests of the whole Nation; and in proportion as their numbers increased would increase these difficulties. This is an economical view of the subject; but true statesmanship takes notice of both moral and political questions as influencing the future of communities.

It was essential for the harmonious action of the Government that the laws pertaining to suffrage should be uniform throughout the Union. The remedy, therefore, must be applied in such manner as to be the same in effect throughout the whole United States. It became a matter of expediency as well as an alternative to give the colored race the ballot, that they might have the means thus far to protect themselves from unfriendly legislation, the *form* in which their individual rights had just been assailed. The freedman was an illiterate—enforced to be such—but illiterate whites were not disfranchised; for the time he was ignorant—perhaps more so than a majority of the illiterate whites.

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The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution apply to all the States of the Union. If the State of New York should by an act of her people deprive her German or Irish population of the right of suffrage, she could be legally deprived in the same proportion of her representatives in Congress; no more, no less than South Carolina could be if she denied her colored population the right of suffrage. The Constitution is thus designed to protect all classes of citizens, for it reads (Fourteenth amend., sec. 2): "When the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such [a] State, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

Congress took measures to reconstruct the Union on principles of equity, that if fully carried out would secure the civil rights of all citizens. They first passed (over the President's veto) "The enabling act to provide efficient governments for the insurrectionary States." 1867, Mar. 23.
Then "the Registration Act" (based on the "Civil Rights Bill") by which the provisional governors were directed in their several States to order a complete registration of all the male citizens over twenty-one years of age, without reference to color or former condition of life. This Sept. 1.
registration was to be completed by September 1st, before the election, which was to be held for delegates to conventions to form State constitutions. Under this "act" the colored men were recognized as citizens, and, having registered soon after as such, for the first time, voted.

Why may not reconstruction on principles of right and justice, be noted in our history as the starting-point for the continuous advancement of the material progress

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of the Nation? It was then that the Union was totally freed from the incubus of slavery — only its *débris* of ignorance and improvidence remaining; these two evils in a generation or two can be overcome. The colored people in their sphere as laborers are essential in the South to furnish their share in the more perfect advancement of the whole country, and this act of justice encourages them to prepare themselves and their children to fulfill the duties of their station, and by education—intellectual and moral—and by industry, make their lives successful. The reconstruction measures thus founded on justice and equity are comprehensive in their character, and in the end must have a beneficial influence upon the Nation.

The slaves of the Roman empire were originally prisoners of war, but they belonged to the white race, and when they became freedmen, they took their places as citizens on an equality; to them their misfortunes were not attributed as a disqualification. The case of the negro is different from that of all others in history; never before had a people of a different origin—a race physically so distinct and placed in so inferior condition —with the depressing influence of six generations of servitude, been made citizens; they having been excluded by law, as far as possible, from the benefits of the advancing civilization during the last two hundred years.

Reconstruction was a result of the humanizing influence of Christianity in the minds of the loyal portion of the American people; they would not sanction the holding of the freedmen in a condition bordering on that of their former bondage, and in which they could not make available the means of elevating themselves and their children.

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In due time the seceded States adopted the requisite amendments, and were readmitted to the Union, and their senators and representatives to their seats in Congress. The last to come in were the States of North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and Florida. Some of these had been unrepresented in Congress for seven years. 1867.

Nebraska was admitted into the Union as a State, making the thirty-seventh. The same year Alaska was purchased from Russia for the sum of $7,200,000 in gold. This immense region of 500,000 square miles is valuable for its fisheries, and for seal skins, and also for its harbors on the Pacific coast. Near the end of the nineteenth century rich gold deposits were found in the Klondike section, attracting many persons to that region.

Congress had passed a law entitled The Tenure of Office Bill, by which the consent of the Senate was necessary to the removal from office of any officer whose nomination by the President had to be confirmed by that body. The President, in violation of this law and during the recess of Congress, desired to remove that most efficient officer Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, from his position. Great political excitement grew out of these proceedings, which resulted in the impeachment of the President, by a resolution of the House of Representatives, "for high crimes and misdemeanors." The trial ended in his acquittal, as a two-thirds vote of the Senate failed, by one vote, to pronounce him guilty. This is the only instance of a President of the United States being impeached.

An important treaty was made with the Chinese Empire, by which religious toleration was guaranteed to citizens of the United States residing in China, and the same privilege was extended to Chinese residents in this coun-

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try. This treaty was followed by an embassy from that empire to the United States, which it is hoped will have a most favorable influence upon the policy of that secluded empire.

In the election for President the Republican party nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency General U. S. Grant of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, and the Democratic party, Horatio Seymour of New York, and General Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri. The former were elected, and General Grant was inaugurated President 4th of March, 1869.

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CHAPTER LXVI.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

Pacific Railway.—The Fifteenth Amendment.—Death of General Lee.—State Rights Influence.—Alabama Claims.—Fraudulent Voting.—The Ku-Klux-Klan.—Enforcement Act.—Signal Service.—Fires.—Manufactures; Iron; Silk.—Railroad Panic.—The Bill for Resumption of Specie Payments.—New Orleans Riots.—The Indian Question.—Colorado State.—Deaths.—Census of 1870.—Centennial.—Presidential Election.—Greeley; Sumner.—Influences binding the Union.—Civil Service Reform.—Platforms.—Electoral Commission.

WHEN Ulysses S. Grant entered upon the office of President the civil war had been concluded about four years; the direful effects on the South had been rapidly disappearing; all the States, by means of reconstruction, were once more under the old flag, and the nation had already entered upon a career of progress untrammeled by the incumbrance of slavery to retard advancement and to serve as an irritating element, as it had been for two generations. The President appointed ex-Governor Hamilton Fish, of New York, Secretary of State. 1869. Mar. 4.

During this year the Pacific Railroad, extending from Omaha, Neb., to San Francisco, 1,913 miles, was finished; it supplied the link uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This was a work of great magnitude—entered upon in time of civil war, but pressed to the end by untiring energy. The United States aided in building this road by liberal grants of public lands and otherwise.

The Fifteenth Amendment, which reads, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of color or previous condition of servitude," was adopted, and became the law of the land. This completed the 1870. Mar 30.

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1870. amendments to the Constitution deemed necessary for the protection of the freedmen in their new relation as citizens. They have manifold difficulties to overcome, but their progress in industry and their endeavor to educate themselves and their children, and to acquire frugal habits, are the cheering features in their case. Too much, unfortunately, has been expected of them as citizens. The degradation of their previous condition has not produced that self-respect so necessary to success in life, and it will take time, and both moral and intellectual improvement, to obliterate the effects of such an influence. A feeling of kindness between the former masters and the freedmen is increasing from year to year, and as the industries of the late slaveholding States increase and their resources develop, the latter, as laborers at least, will doubtless perform their share in this general progress.

1875. "Now," wrote Vice-President Wilson, "the colored race, though little accustomed to habits of economy and thrift, possess millions of property, has hundreds of thousands of children in schools, has been clothed with civil and political rights, occupies high positions at home, and has representatives in Congress."

1870. Oct. 12. General Robert E. Lee died October 12, 1870. He had won for himself the respect of the people of the loyal States, and was the idol of those of his own section. He was a Christian and a gentleman; reserved in manner, but of the kindliest disposition. He was opposed to the secession leaders, and had but little respect for their statesmanship; looking upon them as mere politicians. He believed that the war might have been avoided had it not been for extremists in both sections. Says he, "I did believe at the time that it was an unnecessary condition of affairs, and might have been avoided if forbearance and wisdom had been practiced on both sides." He wrote, Jan. 6th, 1861, "I cannot anticipate so great a calamity to the nation as the dissolution of the Union." When the war was over he accepted the situation, and used his influence

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for the reconciliation of the North and South. He was elected president of Washington College in his native State, in which important and useful office he spent the remainder of his life; and there used all his influence to direct the young men to become Christians and good citizens, and true lovers of the *whole* country. A mother brought her two sons to enter the college, and in his presence loudly expressed her hatred of the North; the dignified president, interrupting her, said, "Madam, don't bring up your sons to detest the United States government. Recollect that we form but one country *now;* abandon all these local animosities, and make your sons Americans."[1] He foresaw the ruin of his own Virginia in case of a civil war, and it was through agonies of spirit that he decided to go with her. "My husband has wept tears of blood," Mrs. Lee wrote to a friend, "over this terrible war; but he must, as a man and a Virginian, share the destiny of his State, which has solemnly pronounced for independence."[2] His decision, no doubt, was owing to the unconscious influence of the extreme views taken of the doctrine of State Rights, which affected the minds of many of the Southern statesmen of that period to such an extent as to cramp their political ideas. Unlike the statesmen of former times, they were so much engaged in plans of special legislation for "the peculiar institution," that their statesmanship was dwarfed; in consequence, their views of policy were more sectional than national; never grasping the whole land in its diversities of climate and manifold industries and institutions. Governments, in theory at least, have been formed to last for all time, and these leaders betrayed their want of true statesmanship when in their Constitution they embodied the doctrine of State Sovereignty to such an extent as to provide, in the very organization of their government, for its own dissolution—the only instance known to history of such inconsistency.

During the rebellion and at its close the loyal people and

[1] Life of Lee, p. 331. [2] Life of Lee, p. 31.

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CHAP. LXVI. 1870. Congress felt keenly indignant that the English rulers should have given aid to the Confederates and manifested so much sympathy for their cause. "We charged and believed that Great Britain and her colonies had been the arsenal, the navy-yard, and the treasury of the Confederacy." But "with generous forbearance" the United States Government chose to obtain redress by negotiation, and a treaty was made, the Earl of Clarendon acting on the part of the English Government and Hon. Reverdy Johnson, an eminent lawyer, acting on the part of the United States. Senator Charles Sumner made a scathing analysis of this treaty when it came before the Senate for ratification, and it was rejected. His argument and the rejection irritated the English people exceedingly; but time and reflection revealed to them that Sumner's statements were so clear and so true that the United States had just reason to complain of England's lack of good faith as a neutral, and they began to regret sincerely there should be differences of an unfriendly character between the two nations of all others so nearly related, which feeling came now to be reciprocated by the people of the United States.

General Grant, soon after the rejection of the treaty, became President, and he recommended to Congress to appoint a commission to audit the claims of American citizens on Great Britain for losses by Confederate cruisers permitted to leave English ports to prey on American commerce, in order to have them assumed by the government itself. Soon after this the English government proposed to 1871. Jan. 26. that of the United States a joint High Commission, to hold its sessions at Washington, to settle some questions in respect to boundaries between the two countries. The President consented on condition that the Alabama claims, so-called, should also be considered. This led to the second treaty of Washington (the first in 1842).[1] Five Commissioners were sent by the British Government, men of eminence, who met the same number, of equal character,

May 8.

[1] Hist., pp. 739–741.

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appointed by the President. This treaty, from the principles involved in its action, is a noble example of nations settling their controversies by negotiation, and the arbitration of justice and reason, rather than by the barbarous arbitrament of the sword. The Commissioners made their work complete. By authority of the Queen the British negotiators expressed "in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels" —there were eighteen, including tenders—from British ports and for depredations committed by them. July 4.

There were in all five different subjects of controversy between the two nations, and the treaty arranged that these should be submitted to disinterested arbitrators whose award both nations were bound by agreement to accept as final. The points at issue were the claims of American citizens against Great Britain for damages sustained by cruisers fitted out in British ports to aid the Confederates in making war against the United States, and all claims of the citizens of either Government for injuries received during the civil war; also for the regulation of the Atlantic coast fisheries of the United States and of the British provinces touching on the Atlantic and its estuaries; and for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and certain canals in the Canadian Dominion; and in the United States for the free navigation of Lake Michigan, and also for reciprocal free transit across the territory either of the United States or of the Canadian Dominion; and, finally, the true boundary between Washington Territory and British Columbia, which had been postponed to a future time by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton when they negotiated the first treaty of Washington.

As long as Lord John Russell, through whose negligence the *Alabama* and other vessels were permitted to escape, had charge of the foreign affairs of Great Britain no redress could be obtained. Though admitting the wrong, he stubbornly refused to make any concessior., on

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CHAP. LXVI. 1871.

the ground that the "*honor* of England would not permit her to make any reparation to the United States."

All these claims and questions of differences, in accordance with the treaty of Washington, were to be referred to a tribunal of five arbitrators, appointed in the following manner: namely, one by the President of the United States and one by the Queen of the United Kingdom, with requests to the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil each to name an arbitrator.

The friendly Powers, as requested, designated each an arbitrator of eminent abilities and learning. The Queen appointed Sir Alexander Cockburn arbitrator and President Grant, Charles Francis Adams. Each party employed counsel: in behalf of the United Kingdom was Sir Roundell Palmer aided by two others, and in behalf of the United States the eminent lawyers William M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing, and Morrison R. Waite—the latter now Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

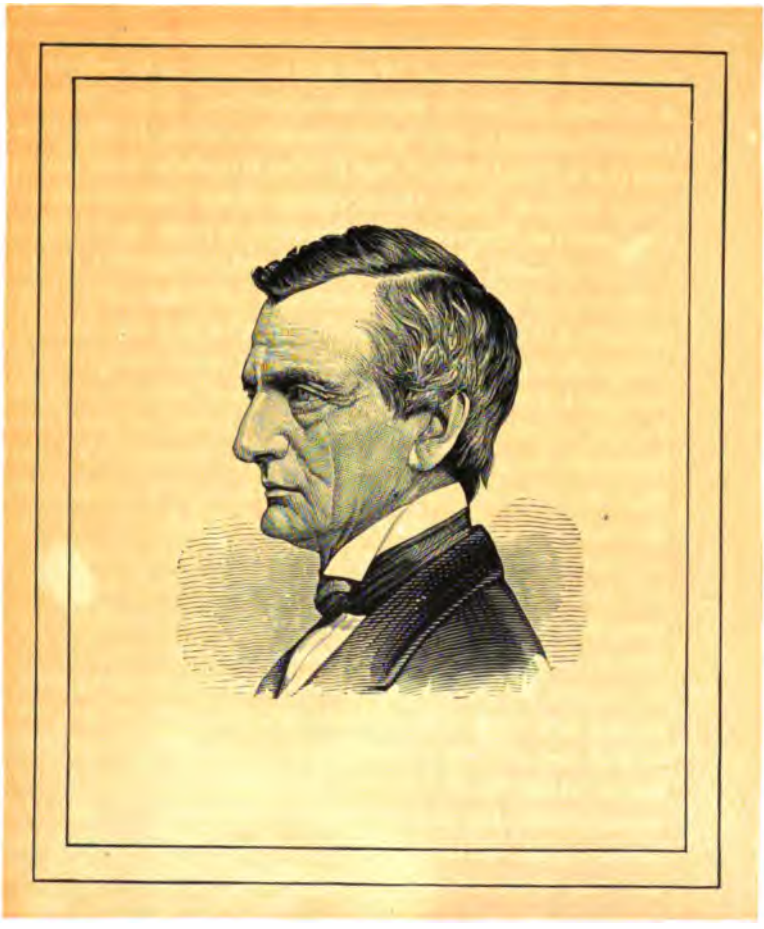
1872. June 15.

The arbitrators, in accordance with this arrangement, met by appointment at Geneva in Switzerland, and after a laborious session in examination — first, whether Great Britain failed to fulfill the duties laid down in the treaty in respect to preventing vessels leaving English ports to enter upon a war against American commerce in the service of the so-called Confederacy; and, secondly, to name the award which was to be in the gross, and paid in coin twelve months after the date of the decision; the United States Government was to examine the claims of its own citizens and pay them out of the award—the decision was in the following terms: "The tribunal, making use of the authority conferred upon it by Article VII. of the treaty of Washington, by a majority of four voices to one awards to the United States the sum of $15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States, for the satisfaction of all claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal."[1] The money has been paid, and at this

Sept. 14.

[1] Cushing on the Treaty of Washington, p. 280.

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Wm. H. Seward

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writing the claims are adjusted with the exception of a certain class of those presented by Insurance Companies. CHAP. LXVI. 1870.

The Representative in the House holds a twofold relation to the people: he represents, specially, his own immediate constituents, who have elected him, and also indirectly the whole people of the Union. The Congressman from Maine and his fellow-member from Texas, have equal power when they vote on public affairs; in consequence of this feature, the whole Nation is interested in the selection of each Member of Congress; and the entire people, in self-protection, have a right to demand that Congressmen should be elected by the legal voters of their own districts. More remotely they have an interest in the election of legislatures, which choose United States' Senators; and in a much higher degree than either are their interests involved in the choice of a President.

After the Presidential election in 1868, the whole country was startled by the revelation that stupendous frauds had been committed in the City of New York, and that these were accomplished by issuing forged naturalization papers on which illegal votes were cast. In New York as well as in other large cities certain classes furnish great facilities for committing frauds of this character. These forged papers were also sent to the larger towns and along the railways of the State. 1868.

The statements in detail of these facts astounded the thinking minds of the Nation. Multitudes upon whom the right of voting had been graciously conferred or would be in due time, had been induced by certain leaders to abuse the privilege most grossly! Urgent appeals came up to Congress to prevent the repetition of such frauds. The House of Representatives appointed a committee of seven of its own members to investigate the subject, and with power to summon and compel witnesses. The committee found that in the month of Octo-

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CHAP. LXVI. 1870.

ber alone—the election was to take place on the *third* of the following November—were issued in the City of New York, 57,217 naturalization papers; of these 18,314 had not been recorded by the court, but were discovered afterward. Witnesses stated that the recipients of these papers were sworn in in groups of one hundred to one hundred and eighty at a time. Two reports were made to Congress, the majority sustaining the charges, and the minority admitting that "a considerable number of certificates of naturalization was obtained by fraud and perjury."[1] A bill was introduced to prevent frauds in the election of United States' officers. The law provided: "In towns of over 20,000 population upon the written application of *ten* citizens the judge of the United States Circuit Court shall, *ten* days before the registration or election, appoint two citizens for each election district of *different political parties*, who shall be known as supervisors of elections." "In large cities the United States marshal may appoint two special deputies in each election district to assist the supervisors." These officials are required to attend both the registration and the election, in order to secure complete fairness.

May 31.

Though the war was ostensibly at an end, and the insurrectionary States under military commanders and provisional governors, appointed by President Johnson, outrages continued to the end of his administration to be committed on the freedmen and Union men—whites native born—and upon those who had come thither for the purpose of settling, especially if the latter expressed opinions disliked by these gentlemen or sympathy for the freedmen in their troubles. The abolition of slavery, though acquiesced in, was exceedingly distasteful to the same classes, as well as the Civil Rights Bill by which the freedmen were protected as citizens. To neutralize

[1] Report of "Select Committee on alleged election frauds in New York."

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CHAP. LXVI.

the effects of these bills, and of the recent amendments to the Constitution, associations were secretly formed within a few months throughout these States. They were popularly known by the name they gave themselves in public, "THE KU-KLUX KLAN"—a barbarous name—comprising the whole class, though in some sections different designations were used, such as the "White-Leaguers," "Knights of the White Camelia," etc., but the official name in the secret record was "THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE." These lawless bands were in active operation during the administration of the President's provisional governors, and before the State governments organized by the authority of Congress went into operation under the "Reconstruction Acts."[1]

1870.

1868, July.

The Fourteenth Amendment having been proclaimed ratified, and the Fifteenth submitted to the State Legislatures with every prospect of being adopted, these facts roused a determination on the part of the Ku-Klux to prevent the principles of these two amendments being applied in the case of freedmen voting. The Ku-Klux bands were made up of idle young men belonging to the best families. They disguised themselves and their horses by means of frightful looking costumes, scoured the country by night, whipping and otherwise maltreating the negroes and white Union men. Assassinations of the most atrocious character were committed. Colored women were frequently barbarously whipped if they refused to betray the hiding-place of their friends, and sometimes were even hanged. It may account for the little resistance the Ku-Klux met that they had previously deprived the colored men of their arms.

Nothing, except it may have been a school-house, excited the rage of the "Ku-Klux" so much as a colored man successful in his business by being industrious and

[1] Hist., pp. 1038-1042.

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saving, and especially if he learned to read and write. They frequently burnt school-houses built and owned by the freedmen, and maltreating the teachers, drove them off. It seems incredible that such crimes should be committed and apologized for in a community professing to be under the influence of a civilization claimed to be Christian.

At length Congress partially put an end to these crimes by passing a stringent law known as the "Enforcement Act." This authorized the Government to protect the victims of these outrages, and punish the authors of such crimes. President Grant issued a proclamation suspending the *habeas corpus* in nine counties in South Carolina. This was necessary, because the State courts interfered with the Federal officials in the discharge of their duties. The influence of this assertion of law extended to other States, and to some extent prevented similar outrages.

These unpunished crimes, and the petty annoyances inflicted upon numerous business Northern men and their families, who were desirous of casting in their lot with their Southern brethren, have retarded the material prosperity of these States for a quarter of a century; for even when the outrages entirely cease (as they mostly have done), the memory of such deeds must create a prejudice not soon to be eradicated from the minds of men.[1]

Scientific men desired to obtain uniform observations on the atmosphere at the same moment over the entire Union; and as such information could be made available for practical purposes by the telegraph, Congress established the "Signal Service Bureau"—the first in the world. These observations pertain to the temperature and moisture of the atmosphere, the velocity and direction of the wind, and when likely to be of use, the rise and fall of rivers. The reports of the Bureau are espe-

[1] See the 13 vols. of Reports of the Joint Committee of Congress on these outrages.

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cially beneficial to the mercantile marine, as storms are predicted many hours, and sometimes days in advance, meantime storm signals are placed along the coast to warn vessels which are about going to sea. These benefits are shared also by the farmers and the commerce of the Great Lakes, as the observations and predictions are published and sent daily to every post-office in the Union, besides being printed in the daily papers. There are more than one hundred and fifty stations in the United States where, at the same moment, observations are made, recorded, and the result transmitted to the main office of the Bureau at Washington. In order to ascertain the condition of the higher atmosphere, high points that may be available for the purpose are chosen, such as Mount Mitchel, N. C., Mount Washington, N. H., and Pike's Peak, Colorado, and others. The time appointed to take these observations corresponds to 7.35 A.M., Washington City. It is estimated that nine tenths of these predictions are verified, and great benefits have been thus far conferred upon the country, and as the operations of nature become better understood, they will be still greater in the future. The system has been adopted in Europe; and there have been occasions when great risks on the sea were about to be run parties have sent for and obtained the predictions of the Bureau.

1870.

One of the most terrible fires of modern times in two days devastated the City of Chicago; a wind storm of unprecedented violence raged the entire time, and fanned the flames in their onward course until they were stopped by Lake Michigan. Seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty buildings were reduced to ashes; to do this the flames raged over twenty-one hundred acres; ninety-eight thousand persons were rendered homeless, while two hundred million dollars' worth of property was virtually annihilated. The catastrophe was followed by great distress; but relief generously poured in from all

1871, Oct. 8 & 9

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CHAP. LXVI. 1871. parts of the Union and even from Europe. But perhaps the most remarkable feature growing out of this great misfortune was the indomitable energy of the citizens themselves, who commenced to build before the debris was cold, and to-day their city is more beautiful than ever, and is extending its facilities of commerce and trade farther and farther.

1872, Nov. 9. In the business portion of the city of Boston a fire broke out and raged for nearly two days, burning over sixty-five acres covered with buildings, destroying property to the value of more than eighty million dollars. This space has since been built over with substantial houses for commercial purposes. Meanwhile the streets of the same have been straightened.

The rebellion was the occasion of remarkable progress in all the industries of the loyal States. To equip the Navy and make it effective required an immense outlay of material, iron, coal, and lumber. Meantime the destruction of railroads during the war, and their unusual wear and tear, to repair which rendered necessary a vast expansion in the manufacture of railway equipments, and this led to an unprecedented development of the iron and coal[1] resources of the country. The building of railways was much extended; one road—the Union Pacific—was finished across the continent, and another—the Northern Pacific—partially so; while in the lately insurgent States the railroads ruined by the war were put in repair. In the Northern States, also, the roads were refitted and much extended, requiring for the greater part steel rails, thus leading to the manufacture of iron in the form of steel by the rapid process known as the Bessemer, and this again into rails.

From 1864 to 1873.

The manufacture of textile fabrics from cotton and wool also received a great impulse, while another indus-

[1] Primer on the Natural Resources of the United States, by J. Harris Patton.

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try, hitherto quite limited, that of manufacturing silk, was extended enormously, till the yearly product was valued at thirty million dollars by the Census. All the industries of the Union were promoted in consequence of the war, and by a tariff designed to equalize the cost of production by counterbalancing the low wages paid operatives in Europe. CHAP LXVI. 1880, Sept. 17.

One of the most severe commercial failures this country has experienced was inaugurated suddenly by a large banking-house in Philadelphia stopping payment. This institution was so intimately associated with others throughout the land that almost immediately numbers of banks, commercial houses, and manufacturing establishments, and one prominent railway company, failed to meet their obligations. This has been characterized by some the "Money Panic," and by others the "Railroad Panic." The industries of the country were greatly disturbed; they had been so very successful and had increased their productions to such an extent that they had a large surplus on hand for which there was no market. Railway building, a prominent industry of the time, ceased almost entirely, and multitudes of working men in every portion of the Union were thrown out of employment. Unfortunately the high wages paid for the last few years had led to habits of extravagance among those who obtained their living from wages alone. Nor did the evil end here; even those who hitherto had been economical in their expenses and prudent in their investments were tempted to spend more money on their living than their incomes would warrant. In consequence of these imprudencies the distress was more than usually extended, reaching all classes of the community. "The financial revulsion of 1873, which was a necessary consequence of the speculation and over-production incited by the inflated currency of the ten years previous, brought its saddest results on the class who depend on wages, cutting off the 1873

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CHAP. LXVI.

means of living with many, and perpetuating the distress through a series of years following.[1]

1875, Jan. 10. Two years later, in order to remove these evils and get back to a solid basis for financial transactions, Congress passed a bill making provision for the resumption of specie payments. This meant that the National government intended to make its greenbacks, its bonds, and the notes of the National Banks redeemable in coin. This resumption was to take place on January 1, 1879. The day after the bill was signed by President Grant the premium on gold began to disappear, and so carefully were the financial affairs of the government managed that on the appointed day *it vanished*, and resumption was an accomplished fact.

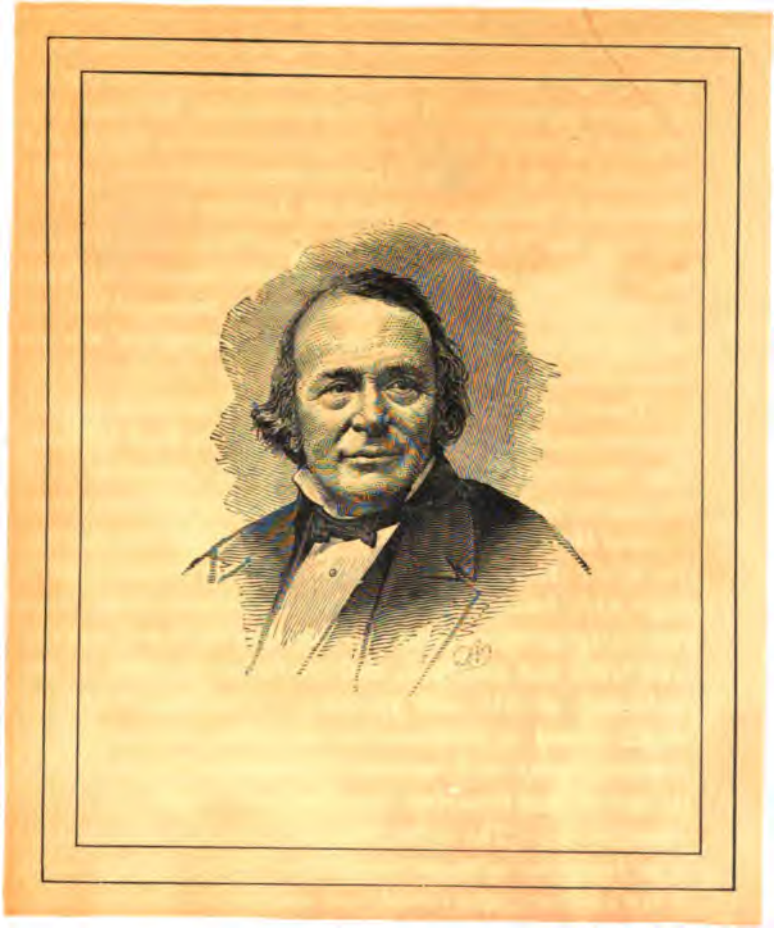
The unsettled condition of political affairs in Louisiana eventually assumed the form of riot in New Orleans. The two candidates for the office of governor both claimed to be elected, in accordance with the decision of the two Returning Boards of elections—one Republican, the other Democratic. They mutually charged each other with fraud. Thus, at the same time, there were two acting governors and two Legislatures in session; the laws were not enforced, and confusion reigned to the detriment of life and property. President Grant at length issued a proclamation enjoining the people to preserve order and restrain themselves from violence.

1873, May 22. He saw reasons to sustain the claims of Governor Kellogg (Republican). The difficulties in respect to the election arose from the outrages committed by marauding bands of lawless men, who threatened and abused the freedmen if they voted against the wishes of these bands. In consequence the votes of certain districts were counted by one returning board, and rejected by the other.

This confusion and ill feeling lasted for an entire

[1] Political Economy, Wayland and Chapin, p. 158.

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year, when finally they resulted in a riot in the city; a conflict occurring in the streets, in which twenty-six persons lost their lives, and Governor Kellogg was forced to take refuge in the United States Custom House. The President now interfered and reinstated Kellogg, and compelled obedience for a while to the law. Some months afterward the troubles were renewed; Congress being in session a committee of that body was sent to New Orleans to make an investigation; and under its conciliatory influence the difficulties were adjusted. CHAP. LXVI. 1875.

One of the most difficult problems for the National Government to solve has been that of the Indian question. Congress deemed it better for the Indians to be settled by themselves on tracts of land or reservations, where their rights would not be encroached upon by white settlers, and where they might in time become civilized, which could never be the case so long as they roamed as hunters. The Government at first set apart for their homes a large section of country—about 69,000 square miles—known as the Indian Territory, one of the finest regions in the Union. At different times since the removal there of the southern Indians,[1] various northern and western tribes and portions of tribes, have been transferred thither, until the population has reached nearly 70,000. Their advances in civilization, in cultivating the soil and in the simpler forms of mechanical industries, and especially in the secular and religious education of their children, have been under the circumstances very successful. There are also in the western section of the Union several smaller reservations; at all of which the Indians have made much progress during the last ten or fifteen years in acquiring settled habits. At all these reservations are found Christian Missionaries, who are doing much to give a proper tone to the civilization in progress by instructing the adults as well as the children. 1833.

[1] Hist. pp. 700, 706.

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CHAP. LXVI.

There are still remaining wild Indians, who are, as yet, unwilling to settle on reservations. A treaty was
1875. made with a small tribe, the Modocs, living on Lake Klamath, according to which they were to remove to a reservation. They afterward refused and took to the war path, and Gen. Canby, in command of the Department, intended to persuade them to go peaceably. But when about to enter upon the conference agreed upon the Modocs treach-
1872. erously killed him and one of the United States Commissioners, and wounded others. The Government sent a military force which drove the Indians from their hiding places, and finally captured the assassins. Captain Jack, the principal chief, and two minor ones were hanged. The tribe was broken up and a portion scattered; while the remainder was captured and sent to the Indian Territory.

1873, April. The Territory of Colorado made application for admission into the Union as a State. Its fine deposits of the precious metals, and its facilities for stock raising, together with a health-giving climate, allured thither an unusually large immigration. Congress passed the Enabling Act, and the Territory was admitted the following year—
June. making the thirty-eighth State.

Within a few years after the close of the Civil War a number of those who, during that period, were engaged in public affairs, passed away. Among these were Edwin M. Stanton, the efficient Secretary of War under President Lincoln; William H. Seward, Secretary of State under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, of great learning as a statesman, and most efficient in managing our foreign
1876 relations; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, to whom is due the system of National Banks; Gen. George S. Meade, the hero of Gettysburg; Henry Wilson while Vice-President, and Andrew Johnson, not long after his term of office expired; Louis Agassiz, one of the great teachers of science, and Joseph Henry, a scientist of world-wide reputation, and for many years

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Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington City. CHAP. LXVI.

1870. The Census of 1870 gave the population of the States and Territories of the Union as 38,533,191; about 7,000,000 more than that of 1860. This was the most eventful decade of our history. The nation since the close of the rebellion has exhibited remarkable elasticity, and has been rapidly recovering from the strain of an extraordinarily expensive civil war, both in precious lives and treasure.

1874. Congress passed a law by which, hereafter, all officers of the national Government elected by the people are to be chosen on "the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November"—to take effect in 1876.

1871. Mar. 3. As the time drew near when the nation would be one hundred years old, Congress made arrangements to celebrate its Centennial in an appropriate manner, properly selecting the city of Philadelphia as the place of the national celebration, because in that city was made the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.[1] "The act provides for celebrating in a becoming manner the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence, by holding an International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and products of the soil and mines, at Philadelphia, in 1876." Congress authorized first a "Commission to consist of not more than one delegate from each State and territory, to be appointed by the governors thereof, whose duty it shall be to prepare and superintend the execution of a plan for holding the Exhibition, and its general supervision; they to continue in office to the end of the Exhibition;" and secondly a corporation known as "The Centennial Board of Finance," composed of prominent citizens from each State and Territory of the United States, equal in number to twice the number of their senators, members, and delegates in Congress. The corporation to hold its meetings in Philadelphia. The President was authorized to invite the co-operation of foreign powers in the celebration.

[1] Hist. p. 412.

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CHAP. LXVI.

This invitation was responded to in a most gratifying manner: nearly forty of the civilized nations of the earth

1876. were represented in innumerable forms of their manufactures and arts, evincing unusual national courtesy and good-will—the manifestation of an "era of good feeling" among the nations of the world. The circumstances were such as to command attention; the independent growth of the nation in a brief period of a century, the result of its starting on its career with the elements of national greatness in abeyance ready to be developed as occasion required; the energy of a people every one imbued with the self-respect and self-reliance of an intelligent freeman.

The Exhibition buildings were in Fairmount Park, were of immense size, and finely arranged for the purpose designed. By means of the proper adjustment of glass in iron frames, the light was diffused in the most perfect manner. The main structure covered an area of 20 acres (the same as that of the London Exhibition in 1851); the other buildings, in all, occupied 40 acres more. These were of different styles and finished in accordance with each, displaying much taste, and withal an appropriateness of design. The whole buildings combined covered an area about the same as that of the Great Exhibitions of London and Paris (1862–7), while they contained 10 acres more than the one at Vienna (1873). This Exposition has certainly proved to be a school for improvement in the mechanical and tasteful arts, as here were seen the finest specimen of man's mechanical skill or inventive genius. Every well-wisher of moral and intellectual progress will look with interest upon the effects of such great gatherings of the representatives of the nations of the earth, thus commingling, and, we trust, in the interest of "peace and good-will to men."

1872. In the presidential election in 1872 President Grant was the candidate of the Republican party, and Horace Greeley of the Liberal Republicans and Democratic party. The former was elected for a second term.

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Horace Greeley died on the 29th of November, 1872. Born in New Hampshire, the son of a humble farmer in very limited circumstances, through many trials he acquired self-reliance. True to himself and his integrity he rose by his own energy, and won the respect of his countrymen. Kind in heart and proverbially benevolent, the friend of the oppressed of every land and the unrelenting opponent of every system of oppression. At the age of fifteen he began as an apprentice in a country printing office, and after many changes and trials and disappointments he came to the city, and in time founded the New York *Tribune*. Through that medium he exerted a great influence in promoting the cause of temperance, and the industrial interests of the land. The death of no American private citizen had, hitherto, elicited so much sympathy and respect.

Charles Sumner was born in Massachusetts, and died at Washington, March 11, 1874. Sent direct from the people to the United States Senate, he remained a member of that body for twenty-two years, and in the active duties of his position till his death. In varied learning and refined taste and mature scholarship he towered above his fellows. He maintained his influence in the nation by the purity of his political character and his commanding intellect, his most thorough knowledge of every important subject brought before the Senate, and his comprehensive views of national policy. Unswerving in opposition to the system of slavery and the untiring friend of the colored man—whether a bondman or a freedman—he labored to remove obstructions to his success in life, if he himself chose to make the proper exertion as a citizen by industry, and cultivating habits of economy and thrift.

The nation having just passed through a fearful struggle to preserve its integrity, the question occurs, Will there ever be another attempt to destroy the Union? No doubt questions of national policy will arise in the future, on which will be differences of opinion, but never, probably,

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CHAP. LXVI. 1867.

of a class involving principles of morals, of right and justice, wounding the conscience of the people, as was the case in respect to the system of slavery. The signs of the times indicate that the principles of religious freedom will forever secure that perfect toleration in matters of conscience so dear to the heart of the American people. Our system of common schools is destined to be a great harmonizer of the nation, by preparing the people to become more and more intelligent, uniting them by the strong bond of the same language and its literature, in contrast with the other nations or empires of the world occupying immense areas of territory. The school-books used throughout the land are the same in character. The language of the newspaper, the pulpit, the lecture, the myriads of books published from year to year, is the same, while it is spoken throughout the Union with scarcely a difference of intonation, much less amounting to a dialect.

The continuous changes of residence by emigration from one part of the country to another, and the facilities of travel, bringing together the people of the various sections in social intercourse, assimilate their characteristics, while the small fraction, comparatively, of the foreign population scarcely affects the homogeneity of the nation, for they soon affiliate, and their children, taught in the public schools, grow up genuine Americans. The numerous railways connecting all portions of the Union, and affording easy communication for travel or transportation of merchandise, are so many bands to hold us together; while the national system of finances have a binding influence by cheapening exchange from one section to another, and thus saving an immense sum every year to the commercial interests of the land.

The conformation of our territory is suited to be occupied by one nation alone; and the very diversities of climate with us have a binding influence, inasmuch as they afford us cheaply the necessaries of life and many of its luxuries. The great valley of the Mississippi, extending north and

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south, with its varied climate, will ever be the indispensable storehouse of cereals and live stock, furnishing, in exchange for manufactures and merchandise, most of the food for the inhabitants of the Atlantic slope, and also for the mining regions of the Rocky Mountains; while the States along the South Atlantic and on the Gulf are equally as important in furnishing cotton and sugar. These common wants will make the people of all sections of the land mutually dependent one upon another. Should questions of national policy hereafter arise, under such influences they will be considered in a conciliatory spirit, and decided in the light of truth and justice.

The rapid and easy communication by means of railways from one section of the land to another precludes the danger of sectional divisions of territory on account of its great extent; while the telegraph almost brings the listening ear of the nation to the halls of Congress to hear the discussions of questions of national importance, thus enabling the people to form an intelligent judgment and to decide such questions by their vote in the light of patriotism and in the spirit of the Golden Rule.

The moral influences existing among the various Christian denominations of the land serve to unite the whole people in sympathy of a purer type and to a greater extent than before the civil war, as the greatest obstacle to a genuine national Christian fellowship was removed by the extinction of slavery, which brooded over the churches of the land like a moral incubus and precluded perfect unity of Christian feeling because of the conflicting views held by Christians, both North and South, on the moral character of that system.

Now the various benevolent and Christian institutions can have full play; their power is increasing rapidly from year to year, while they are extending their influence and helping hand into fields of labor in every section of the country, inciting a stronger national interest and brotherhood of feeling. Not the least will be the influence for

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CHAP. LXVI. 1871.

good of that mutual respect which prevails between the surviving Union and Confederate soldiers who met in battle and tried each other's mettle, and which in due time will banish far away bygone prejudices;—the "Irreconcilables," for the most part, have been similar to those whom Washington in his day characterized as "chimney-corner soldiers."

The question of Civil Service Reform was agitated to remedy evils arising from appointing persons to minor offices—all under the Head Departments—for political reasons alone, rather than for integrity and capacity. Congress created a Board of Commissioners to devise a system of rules by which the appointments to office should be governed. The Board recommended that examinations of candidates should be held, and a certain grade of scholarship required; and, to secure the services of capable men, as well as to retain their skill and experience for the benefit of the Government, they should not be removed except for malfeasance in office or inability to perform its duties. These regulations are somewhat difficult to be carried out; a candidate may pass the examination on abstract studies, yet lack the experience and business tact to fulfill the duties required. However, a great gain is secured by examinations; and in time, no doubt, scholarship and experience will be so combined that the affairs of these minor offices will be conducted on common-sense principles. We have seen in what manner the system was introduced, and also the effect produced.[1] It was natural that those who desired to obtain United States offices for themselves or their friends should apply to their own Representative in Congress. This custom increased to such an extent that Congressmen, even when uninvited, were tempted to suggest the names of those whom they wished to be ap-

[1] Hist. pp. 705, 730.

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CHAP. LXVI.

pointed in their own district; in time the suggestion grew into almost a demand.

1871.

Another subject of general discussion throughout the country and in Congress was that of the finances in connection with the Tariff and Internal Revenue—by the two latter was raised the means to pay the interest on the National debt and defray the current expenses. This was by far the most important question in all its relations before Congress; for on the judicious management of the finances depended much of the material prosperity of the country.

1876.

We can learn the opinions held by the two main political parties, by noting them as found in their declarations of principles, known as platforms, during the Presidential canvass. The Republican Convention (at Cincinnati) said: "Commercial prosperity, public morals and National credit demand that this promise [the pledged faith of the United States Government to pay its bonds in coin] be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payments." Again: "That duties upon importations should be, as far as possible, adjusted to promote the interests of American labor, and advance the prosperity of the whole country." The Democratic Convention (at St. Louis) said: "We denounce the financial imbecility of that party [the Republican] which, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such a hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal." Again: "We demand that all Custom House taxation shall be only for revenue." The "Greenback" party, in respect to the finances, coincided with the Democratic, saying: "We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of 1875."

June 15.

June 28.

May 18.

The candidates of the Republican and Democratic Conventions were—of the former, Rutherford Birchard

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CHAP. LXVI. 1876. Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and William Almon Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President; and of the latter, Samuel Jones Tilden, of New York, and Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana. The canvass was very spirited, and the result very close, depending upon one electoral vote. A dispute arose, especially in relation to the votes cast in three States—Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida: it was doubtful for which candidate they had legally voted; two sets of certificates of election being handed in. The excitement was great throughout the land; fraud was charged on both sides. The truth could be ascertained only by a thorough and impartial investigation. In this view all were agreed; and for that purpose a special tribunal was created by Congress, known as the Electoral Commission, whose decision was to be final, unless rejected by both Houses of Congress. This tribunal consisted of five judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, five United States Senators, and five Representatives of the Lower House. Legal counsel was employed on each side. The returns from every State were examined, discussed and voted upon; special attention being given to those from the doubtful States mentioned above. Every discrepancy in the returns was investigated, and after expending much time and labor, the Commission decided that the Republican nominees, Hayes and Wheeler, had 185 electoral votes, and the Democratic, Tilden and Hendricks, 184.

This decision was made on March 2; the 4th came on Sunday; on that day, in the presence of a few persons, Mr. Hayes took an official oath. According to precedent, the following day he was inaugurated. The unusual interest in the questions involved drew together an immense concourse of people from all parts of the Union. Chief-Justice Waite administered the oath publicly.

1877, Mar. 4.

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CHAPTER LXVII.

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—Inaugural.—Cabinet.—Civil Service.—Railway Riot.—Coinage of Silver.—Fisheries Indemnity.—Resumption of Specie Payments.—Progress.—Tariff.—Platforms of Parties.—Tenth Census.—Ratio of Representatives.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES was born in Ohio, on October the 4th, 1822. After graduating at Kenyon College, he studied in Harvard University Law School, and began the practice of his profession in Cincinnati. When the Rebellion commenced he was City Solicitor; he volunteered, and was assigned to a regiment with the rank of Major, and soon after promoted in the same to the rank of Colonel. At the battle of South Mountain (Antietam) he was severely wounded; on recovery he rejoined the army, and afterward was created Brigadier-General of Volunteers "for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek;" and finally he was brevetted Major-General. He was then put in command of a division, and served in that capacity to the end of the war, having been wounded four times and had five horses shot under him in battle.

At the close of the Rebellion he was elected Representative for two successive terms to Congress; but before the close of his second term he was chosen Governor of his native State, and again for the second time; at the expiration of the latter term he was again elected to Congress, but before the close of his term he was for the

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CHAP. LXVII. 1877, Mar. 4.

third time chosen Governor of Ohio; this office he resigned to assume that of President of the United States.

The President outlined his policy in his Inaugural, the burden of which was the unsettled condition of the recent insurgent States. He urged "the permanent pacification of the country upon such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights." Again: "That a moral obligation rests upon the National Government to employ its Constitutional power and influence to establish the rights of the people it has emancipated." "That universal suffrage should rest upon universal education. To this end liberal and permanent provision should be made for the support of free schools." As a subject of reform he alluded to "certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage, which have come to have the sanction of usage in the several departments of our Government." He also expressed himself "in behalf of an early resumption of specie payments."

The President called to his Cabinet William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCreary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

President Hayes entered upon measures of Civil Service by making but few changes and as far as possible consulting the interests of the public alone. He also issued an order requiring officers in the employ of the Government not "to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions or election campaigns." A more difficult question was impending—

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that of continuing the United States troops in the States of Louisiana and South Carolina, where they had been detailed to preserve order. He decided to remove them; this was understood to be done on the assurance of gentlemen of influence in that section, that in these States there should be no more political disturbances. CHAP. LXVII. 1877.

On two of the main trunk lines of railway across the Alleghanies—the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Central—commenced a series of strikes, as they are termed, by the persons in employ of these corporations. The strikes for higher wages soon degenerated into riots; the rioters took possession of the roads, preventing the trains running; meanwhile the freight cars were plundered, a hundred locomotives were destroyed at Pittsburg alone, and an immense amount of merchandise not stolen was burned, and railway traffic was suspended across the continent to California. The authorities of two or three States found themselves unable to restore order, and were compelled to call on the President for aid. United States troops were sent to quell the outbreak, which was not accomplished until many lives were lost, and much property, though not belonging to the railroads, was destroyed. July.

Congress passed a bill to remonetize silver, which had not been coined to much extent for some years; it was a legal tender for debts public and private to the amount of five dollars. The mints have since been coining silver dollars according to the law, till there is a vast amount lying idle in the Treasury; for the people, because of its weight and bulk, are not disposed to use it, when United States greenbacks and National Bank notes are equal in value and so much more convenient. These silver dollars are of "the standard weight of four hundred and twelve grains and one-half, troy, of standard silver." The further coinage of the *twenty-cent* pieces was also prohibited. 1881.

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CHAP. LXVII.

1877, Nov. 28. In accordance with the Second Treaty of Washington, an award of 5,500,000 dollars was rendered to Great Britain, as an estimate made by the Commission appointed for the purpose, of the value derived by the United States from the Canadian fisheries. Congress made an appropriation of the amount awarded.

During more than the first half of Mr. Hayes's administration discussions still continued on the finances and the tariff, both in Congress and in the newspapers. The Democratic party wished to repeal the Resumption Act, to take effect on January 1, 1879; and as they had control in the House of Representatives, there they were thus far successful, but not having a majority in the Senate, in that body the repeal failed to pass, and two months before the desired majority was obtained Resumption had taken place—much to the advantage of our internal and foreign commerce and the varied industries of the Union. A brighter day dawned upon the financial future of the country, when on that morning the premium on gold vanished.

1879, Jan. 1.

The Resumption placed the National finances on a solid basis, while the Government by its measures inspired through the commercial world so much confidence in its power to meet its liabilities, that the Secretary of the Treasury was able, at the option of the holder, either to pay the United States bonds, as they became due, or change them to a lower rate of interest and for a longer time. By means of this lower rate of interest there was saved annually to the Treasury more than 13,000,000 dollars. In addition, the confidence thus created kept the bonds above par not only in the United States but in Europe.

Since Resumption there has been, also, a marked and continuous progress in the country; great advances being made in all its industries. The Centennial Exhibition

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had made known to the world the mechanical skill of the American people, their inventions and their applications of machinery to so many kinds of industry. The products of their factories and their workshops have since found their way into every civilized nation, and have held their own by their merits. As an economical measure the Centennial has paid perhaps more than its expenses in opening these markets to our merchants and manufacturers. CHAP. LXVII. 1879.

Our agricultural products have been abundant for the last few years. The crops of cotton, four-fifths of which have been raised by the colored people since the close of the Rebellion, have been increasing annually in quantity, till that of 1880 was the largest ever made. Our exports to Europe have taken an unusually wide range:—wheat as well as flour and other grains; cotton; dairy products in the form of cheese and butter; provisions of other kinds, such as pork and slaughtered meats, in great quantities; and live stock, beef cattle, sheep and horses. So great have these exports been for the last few years that the balance of trade has been in our favor on an average of 150,000,000 dollars a year. For many years the value of our exports has been many millions in excess of our imports.

After specie payments were resumed differences of opinion on the tariff continued to be discussed, and it became a prominent question in the Presidential canvass, because of its great influence on the mechanical industries of the Union. The two main political organizations published their views on the questions at issue in their National Conventions, called to nominate candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency. The Democrats (at Cincinnati), though concise in their statement, were in accordance with the principles they announced four years before, when they demanded "that all Custom House taxation should be *only for revenue*;" now, "A tariff *for revenue only*." They urged "that common schools 1880 June 23.

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CHAP. LXVII.

1880, June 5.

should be fostered and protected," and desired "a general and thorough reform of the Civil Service." The Republicans (at Chicago) said: "We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should *so discriminute as to favor American labor*." "The reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged." "The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its Constitutional ability." "The reform of the Civil Service should be thorough, radical and complete."

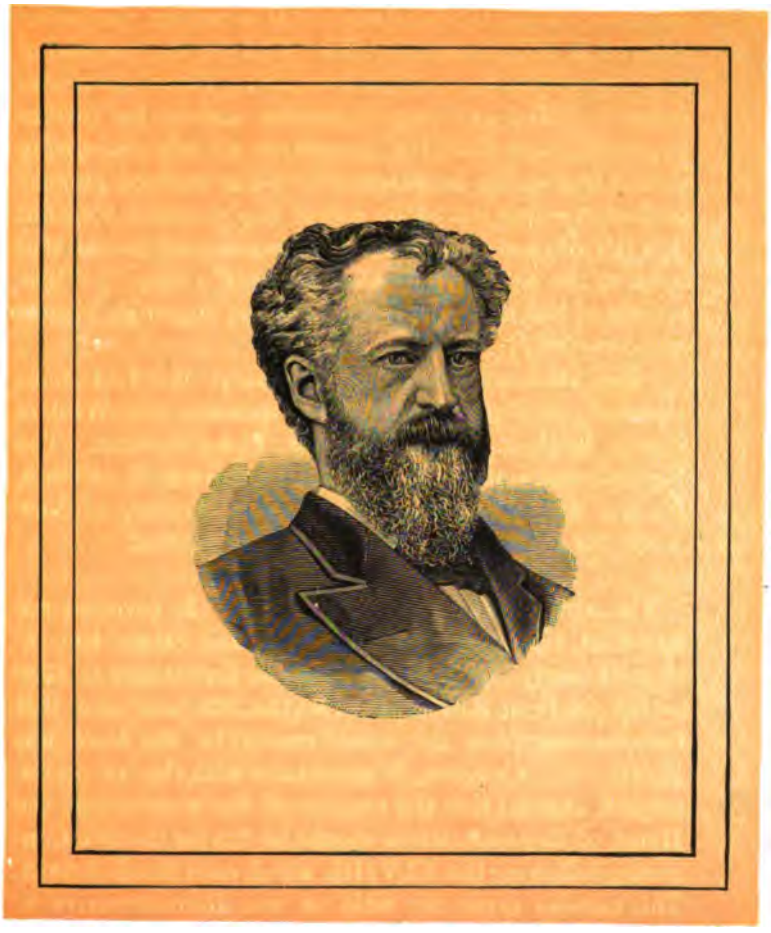
The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William Henry English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, for the first office, and Chester Alan Arthur, of New York, for the second. The latter were elected.

1880, Nov 2.

The tenth census was taken in 1880. It revealed the fact that the population of the United States had increased nearly *thirteen-fold* since the first census in 1790 —that is, from 3,929,214 to 50,155,783—and also that the increase from the *ninth* census to the *tenth* was 12,000,278. Congress, in accordance with the law on the subject, enacted that the number of the members of the House of Representatives should be 325 for the five Congresses following the XLVIIth, which ends March 3, 1883. This number gives the ratio of one Representative to every 151,918 of the inhabitants of the United States—not including Territories. In the first Congress (1789) the ratio was one Representative to every 30,000.

The administration of Mr. Hayes drew to a close. It had been one of unusual prosperity throughout the land. Great advance was made in Civil Service Reform; the

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taxes from Internal Revenue were collected and paid in without loss of a dollar. His administration will long be held in remembrance for the high tone it took in respect to Temperance in the White House, under the direction of Mrs. Hayes, the influence of which has been felt for good throughout the Union. CHAP. LXVII. 1880.

A great boon was conferred upon humanity when Dr. James Marion Sims, a native of South Carolina, but then a resident of Montgomery, Alabama, was successful in curing a disease peculiar to women, requiring an operation, but deemed incurable. Dr. Sims studied the disease for years, and for it treated numerous patients; while reasoning on the subject he was led to use a fine wire of silver—that metal being non-corrosive—as a suture: a cure was at once effected. 1849.

When Dr. Sims became a resident of New York he often and freely treated patients for this disease in the hospitals of the city, in the presence of their corps of surgeons. The cases, outside these institutions, were so numerous that Dr. Sims proposed to establish in that city a hospital for the treatment of women's diseases exclusively, to which proposal strenuous opposition was made by the prominent surgeons connected with the hospitals, while the physicians in general practice were heartily in favor of the project. A number of benevolent ladies took the matter in hand, and in May, 1855, the institution began its work in a private house, and with a large number of patients. It was incorporated under the title of "The Women's Hospital of the State of New York"—the first of the kind in the world. Funds were soon supplied, a commodious building was erected, and from the first it was successful. Dr. Sims made several trips to Europe, and taught the surgeons in the hospitals how to treat the disease. The civil authorities, appreciating his skill and many eminent services to surgical science, conferred on him their highest decorations. 1857.

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CHAPTER LXVIII.

GARFIELD'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of life.—Senate of the State of Ohio.—Volunteers.—In command in Eastern Kentucky.—Continuance in the army.—In Congress.—Inaugurated President.—Success of the finances.—The assassination.—Sympathy of the world.—Removal to Long Branch.—Death.—Interment.—Incident.—Training of citizens.—The assassinations and the causes.—The Spoils System.

CHAP. LXVIII

1831.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD was born on the 19th of November, 1831, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, whither his father had removed a few years before, from the State of New York. He is a fitting type of a nation composed of elements derived from so many races; in his veins flowed the blood of the Anglo-Saxon, the German and the French (Huguenot), on the mother's side. A cabin built of unhewn logs was his birthplace; it stood in a small clearing, in the midst of a primeval forest of large trees, a portion of the latter having been removed to make room for a dwelling and to open up a farm; this had been done by the toil of the father, who died when James—the youngest of four children—was less than two years old. Blest with a mother having remarkable traits of character, of moral and mental power, of will and perseverance, he was trained early to habits of industry and right views of duty. Poverty from the first pressed hard upon the widow, yet she managed to have her boy fitted for college. He himself, when the work was finished on their little farm,—only thirty acres—labored as a hired hand for the neighbors; at the age of sixteen for a while he drove the horses on the tow-path of a canal.

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Having read Captain Marryatt's sea-stories, his imagination pictured the future when he too would be a sailor; from this dream he was awakened by the good sense and tact of his mother, and henceforth with untiring diligence he devoted himself to his books. Soon after he entered upon his preparatory studies in a neighboring academy, paying part of his expenses by performing the duties of janitor and another portion by being assistant teacher. CHAP. LXVIII 1847.

Thus prepared he entered the Junior class in Williams College, Massachusetts, where, at the age of twenty-five, he graduated, receiving the Metaphysical Honor of his class, one of the highest given by that institution to her graduates; meanwhile he had taken a noble stand among his fellow students. On his graduation he was invited to teach the classics in the institution—now become Hiram College—in which he had pursued his preparatory studies; at the close of the first year he was elected its president by the trustees. A laborious worker, his studies took a wide range; reading law meantime and preparing lectures on a number of subjects, which on his part required investigation, and preaching as opportunity served, he being connected with the denomination called "Church of the Disciples." 1856.

He now began to take a special interest in the political questions then agitating the country on the subject of slavery: his views were philosophical and comprehensive, taking in the relations of the system to individual liberty, and to the material progress of the Nation. Unexpectedly he was nominated, and elected by a large majority to the Senate of the State of Ohio. There his commanding talents were recognized, as he impressed his own views—not theoretical book-learning, but practical ideas—upon his fellow members by means of his well-arranged arguments, and his remarkable power in presenting them clearly. "His rule was never to speak on a subject unless he had thoroughly mastered it." He was admitted to the 1859

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CHAP. LXVIII. bar of the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1860; six years later to that of the Supreme Court of the United States.

1861. After the firing on Sumter, when Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 troops for a three months' service, Garfield was the first to rise in his place and move that Ohio furnish 20,000 men and appropriate three million dollars. These volunteers sprang to arms immediately, and were soon ready to move. Some months later other troops were called for and raised; to the command of one of these regiments Governor Dennison appointed Garfield, with the rank of colonel. When the men were ready, he

1861, Dec. 20. was directed to occupy Catlettsburg, at the mouth of the Big Sandy, and he himself to report to Gen. Buell, who was in command of the Department of Ohio, headquarters at Louisville, Ky. The General directed Garfield to drive Gen. Humphrey Marshall out of Eastern Kentucky, who was then invading his native State with forces drawn chiefly from Virginia. It was known that Marshall was entrenched in a camp on the head streams of the Big Sandy, and that the disloyal were joining him. As it was necessary to act promptly, Garfield, whose force had been increased, ordered his little army by telegraph from headquarters to move up the Big Sandy some twenty-eight miles to Louisa, there he joined them and moved

Dec. 24. forward till within striking distance of the enemy; here he halted hoping to unite with a Union force coming from Paris. While thus waiting, he learned fully the position of the invaders. Unexpectedly a messenger came into camp from Gen. Buell; he brought only an intercepted letter from Marshall to his wife, in which he wrote that he was daily expecting to be attacked by ten thousand men. Gen. Buell had said: "Colonel Garfield, you will be so far from headquarters, you must act on your own responsibility." He did so; putting the letter in his pocket without communicating its contents to any one, he promptly made arrangements to attack the in-

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vaders, offering as imposing a display as possible with his little army of fourteen hundred men, while Marshall had five thousand men and twelve cannon. The stratagem succeeded; the Union soldiers rushed on so vigorously from different points, that the Confederates after a short conflict became panic-stricken and fled—and were literally driven out of the State. A few weeks later Garfield, in recognition of this success, was created Brigadier-General of Volunteers—dating from this battle of Middle Creek. Soon afterward he was ordered with a portion of his forces to join Gen. Buell at Nashville, and with these troops he took part in the battle of[1] Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh, where he commanded a brigade.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1862, Jan. 10.

April 7.

Gen. Garfield's health now failed, and he was compelled to retire from the army for its recovery. On its restoration he was detailed by the War Department as a member of a court martial held at Washington for the trial of Gen. Fitz John Porter. We again find him in the field under Gen. Rosecrans, then at Murfreesboro, Tenn., by whom he was appointed Chief of Staff. With the same commander he was at the battle of Chickamauga, where he was very efficient, exposing himself to much danger in the discharge of his duties. Two weeks later he was commissioned Major-general of Volunteers by the President, "for gallant conduct and important services."

Dec. 15. 1863, Sept. 17.

Meantime Garfield had been elected to Congress, and at the urgent request of President Lincoln, he retired from the army and began his career as a national legislator. He took his seat, the youngest member in the House of Representatives; as he had been in the Legislature of Ohio, and the youngest brigadier in the army. The clash of arms was exchanged for that of intellect on the floor of the House, where he took an active part in

Dec. 4

[1] Hist. 923-926.

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CHAP. LXVIII. 1865. the discussions of the important questions coming before that body. His comprehensive views, and his power as a close reasoner gave him great influence. At first he was assigned to the Committee on Military Affairs; afterward, when the war was over, at his own request to the Committee of Ways and Means. He wished to study finance in all its phases, for he discerned that the great questions of the future would be on financial measures, including tariffs. When he was nominated for the 1880. Presidency, he had already been chosen United States Senator by the Legislature of his native State.

James A. Garfield was inaugurated President of the United States on March 4, 1881. The next day he sent to the Senate the following nominations of gentlemen to compose his Cabinet. Without being referred to committees, they were unanimously confirmed: James G. Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Thomas L. James, of New York, Postmaster-General; Robert Lincoln, of Illinois, Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, Secretary of the Navy; Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General; and Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, Secretary of the Interior.

We have seen that in the previous administration the financial measures of the Government inspired so much confidence in the commercial world, and in the minds of bond-holders, that the Secretary of the Treasury was enabled to call in the bonds as they came due, and pay their face value, or, at the option of the holders, change them to bonds bearing a lower rate of interest—four per cent. This change was made to such an extent as to save annually more than *thirteen million dollars* interest to the people. Mr. Secretary Windom, acting on the same principles, was able to save yearly to the Treasury *more than fifteen million dollars*, from reduced interest on bonds. This was accomplished on the 1st of October,

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1881, when the required operations were completed. This was done also at the option of the bond-holders, either by paying the face value of the bonds—five and six per cents—or by refunding them at the rate of *three and one half per cent per annum.* CHAP. LXVIII. 1881. Oct 1.

To accommodate foreign bondholders, and to prevent the drain of coin from the Treasury, an agency for the exchange of bonds was established in London—there the plan was equally successful. In the words of Secretary Windom, this portion of the National debt is reduced "to a loan payable at the option of the Government, and bearing interest at only *three and a half per cent per annum.* The debt itself meanwhile has been diminishing for the last few years at the annual rate of more than fifty million dollars. At the close of the Rebellion the National debt was $2,844,649,626, and the annual interest on the same was $150,000,000; the debt is now much diminished, and the annual interest on the same is only $75,000,000. The total revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1881, was $363,000,000; while the balance of trade at the close of the same time was $257,000,000 in favor of the United States. 1865, Aug. 31. 1881. June 30.

As an evidence of the integrity of the officials in the Internal Revenue Department, it is stated that of the more than six hundred million dollars collected in that service during the preceding five years, not one dollar failed to reach the Treasury.[1] And, also, as proof of the economy and industry of the people, it may be mentioned that during the year ending May 30, 1881, there were deposited in the Saving Banks in the Union nearly eight hundred and eighty-two million dollars.[2] It is estimated that the number of depositors is about two million five hundred thousand.

On July 2, 1881, the American people were shocked

[1] Commissioner Raum's Report, Dec. 5, 1881.
[2] Banker's Magazine, Sept., 1881, p. 190.

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CHAP. LXVIII. 1881, July 2. by the announcement that the President had been mortally wounded by a pistol shot of an assassin named Guiteau. Rumor soon after carried the report throughout the land that the President was no more. The manifestations of sorrow were intense, for by his generous and noble nature he had secured the respect of good men, and the love of those who knew him best. Some hours later the telegraph spread the news that he still survived, but there was little hope of his recovery; he himself bearing up against despondency by his cheerful Christian fortitude. On his asking the attending physician as to his injury, the reply was, "You have a chance for recovery." Then he said cheerfully, "Doctor, we'll take that chance." He murmured once and once only, "I don't know why they should shoot me; I have injured no one." The sympathies of the whole civilized world were greatly enlisted. From the heads of the Governments of Europe and from those of the far East, came messages of condolence. Conventions of men of science and religious assemblies in this land or in Europe, which happened to be in session, sent expressions of sympathy; from the Patriarch of the Armenian Church at Constantinople, and from His Holiness at Rome, came messages of kind words, and Sir Moses Montefiore telegraphed from London to his brethren in Palestine the request that prayers might be offered in behalf of the President in the synagogues of the four holy cities.[1] Days of fasting and prayer were appointed by the Governors of the respective States, and throughout the whole Union prevailed an earnest spirit of supplication to God, modified by a feeling that found expression in the words, "Thy will be done." The American people were especially gratified to learn of the depth of kind feeling that prevailed in England. In numbers of the churches and cathedrals special services of prayer were held, and the Queen herself sent a personal dispatch to Mrs. Garfield saying, "I

[1] Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed.

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am most anxious to know how the President is to-day, and to express my deep sympathy with you both."

The President lay at the White House for sixty-six days, and often apparently at the verge of death. It was essential that he should be removed from the debilitating influence of that climate to an atmosphere more cool and more health-inspiring. Long Branch, on the ocean shore was decided upon. The Pennsylvania Railway furnished the train and its equipments—their most commodious and sumptuous car and three others. The Nation's invalid was placed on board by tender hands, and the train at 6.30 A.M. moved quietly off, and even when under full speed, with scarcely a perceptible vibration. So admirable were the arrangements, the right-of-way was given over six roads; a pilot-engine preceding the train by twenty minutes, and lest the patient should be disturbed, not a bell was rung nor a signal-whistle blown. The train for a portion of the time made seventy miles an hour, stopping only to replenish water and fuel. Along the route, especially through the cities, the people in sympathizing crowds stood silently by as the train passed, and none the less was this interest manifested at the minor stations. This feeling was not limited to the multitudes that saw the train gliding along swiftly and almost noiselessly as if conscious of the burden it was bearing, but the telegraph, as if in sympathy, laid aside business, to carry messages over the Union from almost every station passed, telling the hour and the condition of the patient, as reported by the physicians on written slips of paper, which were thrown from the train. Thousands upon thousands in the cities watched these bulletins as they appeared every few minutes. At length, after passing over nearly two hundred and forty miles, the cottage was reached; and in less than ten minutes the President was safely carried within. Here were witnessed similar manifestations; crowds of people had assembled and

Sept. 6.

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CHAP. LXVIII. 1881.

were silently awaiting the arrival of the train, and also carriages filled with summer visitors from the neighboring watering-places, while in shore lay twenty or thirty pleasure yachts, whose decks were covered with spectators.

Sept. 19.

The removal was in vain; he lingered till the 19th of September, then passed away. President Garfield died at 35 minutes past 10 P.M., and the Vice-President, Chester Alan Arthur, in the presence of a few gentlemen, at his residence in New York City, assumed the office of President at 2 A.M. on the 20th, Judge John R. Brady, of the Supreme Court of that State, administering the oath of office.

The President's remains were taken to Washington, where they lay in state for two days in the Rotunda under the dome of the Capitol; thence they were transferred to their last resting-place in Lake View Cemetery, Cleveland, Ohio. The funeral train from Long Branch to Washington, and thence to Cleveland, elicited everywhere evidences of the Nation's sorrow. While at Washington a magnificent wreath of flowers was brought from the British Legation, and placed on the casket; the card attached read, "Queen Victoria to the memory of the late President Garfield. An expression of her sorrow and sympathy with Mrs. Garfield and the American Nation." The manifestations of grief were remarkable throughout the land; public buildings, places of business, private dwellings, locomotives and trains, were draped in mourning; and even more expressive were the emblems of grief in the simplest forms, as everywhere exhibited by those of the humbler classes in respect to wealth.

Sept. 26.

For eighty long days President Garfield was in the thoughts of the people as a heroic sufferer; and he was cherished in their hearts as one of themselves. His domestic life was ennobling; it was that of the Christian home—the corner-stone of the Nation's moral edifice.

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The Convention in which he was nominated for the Presidency, in its perplexity of clashing opinions, instinctively turned to him at last, as the one man in whom they all could confide. He never sought an office; it always came to him. CHAP. LXVIII. 1881.

An incident in President Garfield's life is still more striking to-day than at the time it occurred.[1] Congress had adjourned, and he was in New York City when the news came of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. On leaving his hotel he strolled down to Wall Street, not being aware that business was suspended, and instead a mass-meeting of business men was to be held in front of the Exchange. A crowd amounting to many thousands was already assembled; a friend recognizing Garfield invited him to the platform. Speeches were made delineating the enormity of the crime, as well as the causes which led to its commission; the exasperated multitude swayed with emotion, and was apparently being wrought up to a frenzy of excitement; here and there in the crowd murmured words of vengeance were heard. Presently there appeared borne aloft two long pieces of scantling crossed like the letter X; from their junction hung a rope with a slip-noose attached. A group of determined men accompanied this significant emblem as it moved slowly among the people; suddenly some one shouted out giving orders where it should go; in a twinkling the cross-beams commenced moving in the direction named, followed by an immense crowd. What would have been the result we may imagine, if these enraged citizens had not been diverted from their design of vengeance; a telegram from Washington had come a few minutes before, saying, "Seward is dying." This announcement added strength to their determination. Garfield on the impulse sprang to his feet, and seizing one of the small flags, 1865, Mar. 15.

[1] Edmund Kirke's Life of Garfield, p. 25.

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CHAP. LXVIII. 1865.

waved it till he attracted the attention of the moving crowd; thinking it was another telegram they halted in silence, then pointing toward heaven, and as if inspired with reverential awe, he slowly and distinctly exclaimed: "Fellow citizens! Clouds and darkness are round about Him! His pavilion is dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies! Justice and judgment are the habitation of His throne! Mercy and truth shall go before His face! Fellow citizens! God reigns; and the Government at Washington still lives." The effect was marvelous. The cross-beams were lowered; vengeance was left to God. When afterward asked what words he had used, he answered, "I cannot tell, I could not have told five minutes afterward. I only know I drew the lightning from that crowd and brought it back to reason."

The American people look upon those who rise from humble stations to success in life as the natural outgrowth of their systems of education, of self-respect induced by political liberty, and of the underlying principle that the pathway to success is open to every one in the sphere to which he is adapted by nature; be it in the humbler walks of life, or in positions of trust and responsibility. Their institutions supply the conditions; success depends upon the talents, the industry, and the integrity of the individual himself; and those thus trained constitute, in whatever sphere they move, what the better portion of the American people conceive as their ideal of nobility—that based on moral and intellectual worth. The peculiarity of this mode of training citizens has attracted the attention of thinking minds abroad. Says Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, after giving a sketch of the character of Garfield: "All this was calculated to enlist our sympathy, and then we were taught to trace a career, such as England knows nothing of, and to wonder at the mode in which great men are formed in a country so like and yet so dissimilar from our own. All this I must say

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to most of us was quite new. It opened up a picture of manhood, such as in this country we were little acquainted with."

A marked change, which has greatly influenced politics, has been going on in our country for nearly half a century. The best elements in American society deem it of primary importance that statesmen, in addition to their qualifications as such, should be pure in their domestic life. The national conventions of political organizations on occasions when the whole people are to vote, are compelled to nominate candidates of unblemished moral lives for the higher offices in the State governments as well as for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency; on no point are the people so strenuous as on this. They repudiate the theory that moral character is not an important element in the qualifications of public officials, they demand correct morals as well as statesmanship.

It is scarcely fair to compare this appreciation of morality by the vast majority of the American people, when they vote for their highest officials, with that of those nations who have no voice in the selection of their supreme rulers; the latter claiming the sovereignty, not on the will of the governed but on the accidental claims of birth alone. Though the domestic example of a royal ruler may be injurious to the morals of the people, the latter have no redress. Sometimes ardent advocates of royalty attempt to explain away the equivocal position of such a ruler by endeavoring to separate the private moral character of the individual from his public or political character. There may be instances in which this evidence of correct moral appreciation is not so markedly clear as when the whole American people demand pure morals in their candidates for the highest offices of the nation. There may be Congressional or Assembly districts that occasionally send representatives whom the majority of the whole people would repudiate. This distinction is

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CHAP. LXVIII 1881.

so clearly defined in practice, that one may be able from the character of the representative himself to divine quite clearly that of his especial constituents—those who voted for him.

Within the space of forty years four Presidents have died in office, all virtually belonging to the same political organization. Of these the last two were assassinated, each of whom was remarkable for his kindly genial nature, and each seemed incapable of designedly doing that which might make personal enemies. We must look elsewhere for the causes that led to these dire results. In the case of Mr. Lincoln the influences that induced his assassination were the outgrowth of that spirit which had for generations outraged the most sacred rights of humanity, and, struggling in rebellion, became maliciously frenzied when its power was annihilated. The hatred which found expression in publishing vile epithets and vulgar abuse of President Lincoln, stimulated the assassin to imbrue his hands in the blood of the best friend of the surrendered South. Infinitely less excusable were the influences that led to the death of Garfield. There is abroad a spirit of assassination of character—which honorable men hold more dear than life—as well as of persons; the former inspired by those in a higher social scale, the latter among the low and vicious. It was misrepresentation and unrelenting abuse of the late President that influenced the groveling mind of a conceited and disappointed office-seeker to murder him. The question may be asked, which is inherently the greater criminal, the slanderer in high position or the assassin in low?

It is incumbent upon the American people to banish the spirit of slander and abuse by showing their condemnation of the crime. The disrespect shown to legitimate authority has an undermining effect upon the morals of the people, and has on a larger scale the same tendency to disorganize society that disobedience to parents has to

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destroy the sacredness of home and injure permanently the character of children. The effect of these influences is to corrupt the inner life of the nation by a sort of moral blood-poisoning; it is inconsistent for citizens to deprecate slanderous publications, and at the same time by their patronage encourage them.

So much misrepresentation and falsehood are usually published by partisans, that intelligent people distrust all statements on political subjects until they are verified; to such an extent does this feeling prevail, that even gentlemen of opposite parties will take the word of each other on business affairs, but hesitate to do so on the subject of politics. Were the "Spoils System," so called, eliminated from the canvassing of questions of national policy, the temptation would be removed either for the misrepresentation of facts or for the slander of personal character. Such questions would then be calmly discussed, both parties being desirous to arrive at the truth and adopt the policy best suited to the whole country. The discussion might be earnest, but should no more induce undue excitement than resolving any ordinary question of political economy. If the minor offices in the service of the United States were conducted on the same principles that govern business men or corporations in managing their affairs, there would be no inducement for tricky demagogues to promise offices as rewards for personal services. The minor officers have only to perform their respective duties, since they have no more concern with the policy of the government than the general interest that other citizens have who may not be thus employed, or that the clerk has with the management of the firm or corporation in whose service he is, with the exception that they have their votes like all citizens on that policy which the government is about to adopt.

The case of the Cabinet or heads of departments in the United States Government is essentially different.

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They ought to be in sympathy with the principles of the party in power,—that is, of the majority of the people; and to secure harmony they should be appointed as they are now. It would be inconsistent, and would defeat the will of this majority, to have these officials refuse to carry out the policy virtually decided upon in the election that placed the advocates of that policy in power.

It is remarkable that the centre of the territory of the United States and the centre of its population are both near the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude. The former is not far from Abilene, Kansas, and the latter, as found by the census of 1880, is in Kentucky, about eight miles west by south of Cincinnati. In the estimate of territory, Alaska has been omitted. According to the first census (1790), the centre of population was east of Chesapeake Bay, about twenty-two miles from Baltimore, and a short distance north of the degree just mentioned; it has since been moving westward.

For thirty years this centre remained east of the Alleghanies; but from 1820 to 1830 it swayed south of the 39th parallel. During that time Florida was obtained and large settlements were made in the Gulf States; then from 1830 to 1840 it crossed to the north of that parallel, a large population—native and foreign—having poured into the States south and west of the Great Lakes; from 1840 to 1850 it crossed to the south of the line—meantime Texas having been annexed; from 1850 to 1860, California was obtained, and the centre moved west faster than usual, crossed the Ohio and to the north of the parallel; from 1860 to 1870 it still moved west by north; while from 1870 to 1880 it moved southwest, coming very near the parallel. From 1880 to 1890 it took a northwest direction, across the Ohio into the State of Indiana, to a point about fifty miles west by north from Cincinnati. The Census of 1900 fixed it 6 miles S.E. of Columbus, Ind.

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CHAPTER LXIX.

ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—The two Law Cases.—The Second Oath of Office.—The Inaugural.—Destructive Fires.—Yorktown Celebration.—Meeting of Congress and the Message.—Arctic Explorations.

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR was born in October 5, 1830, in Franklin County, Vermont. When a boy his father, an Irishman and a Baptist clergyman, removed to the State of New York. Young Arthur was fitted for college under the supervision of his father, a ripe scholar in the classics. He entered Union College, N. Y., when only fifteen years of age, and took class honors each year. He taught meanwhile occasionally to aid in his support as a student, but keeping up with his class in his studies; on graduating he ranked in scholarship with the first six of a class of one hundred members. After his graduation Arthur took charge for a time of an Academy in North Pownal, Vermont, in which institution Garfield afterward taught when he was a student in Williams College. He studied law and entered upon the practice of his profession in the City of New York.

Mr. Arthur became identified with two cases of law in which he was successful, and the decision in both instances had great influence. One was the famous Lemmon case, in which a gentleman of that name brought eight slaves from Norfolk, Va., to New York City, intending to transfer them in a sailing vessel to Texas, whither he himself was migrating. At the solicitation of a committee of the colored people, Arthur, by writ of

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CHAP. LXIX. 1852. *habeas corpus*, applied to the court and succeeded in securing their freedom, as the Fugitive Slave Law passed two years before did not apply, these negroes not being "fugitives." To aid him in the case Mr. Arthur secured the services of Wm. M. Evarts. The other case had a similar result. On a Sunday a respectable and neatly dressed colored woman was returning from her duties as superintendent of a colored Sunday-school, when she stepped on board a street car, paid her fare and took her seat. Presently a "drunken white man," with imprecations, insisted that she should not ride in the same car with him. The conductor asked her to leave, she refused, a struggle ensued, the police were called in and she was forcibly ejected from the car, her dress being almost torn to shreds in the struggle. To Mr. Arthur she appealed for redress; he undertook her case and obtained a verdict against the railway for five hundred dollars damages. The company promptly paid the money, and ever after the colored people on equal conditions with other citizens have ridden in the public conveyances of the city and State of New York.

When the Rebellion began, Edwin D. Morgan, Governor of the State of New York, appointed Mr. Arthur Inspector-General, and soon after to the office of Quartermaster-General, a position of great responsibility. Though the war accounts of New York were so much larger than those of any other State, yet they were the first handed in at Washington, and when audited were found perfect, not a dollar but was accounted for. When the Governors July, 1862. of the loyal States privately assembled in the city of New York to concert measures in aid of the National Government, Mr. Arthur was the only gentleman invited to meet with them in consultation as to the best means of aiding the loyal cause with men and material, his remarkable executive ability being thus recognized. When appointed to the Collectorship of the port of New York, he managed

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the affairs of the office so perfectly, that when renominated four years afterward he was unanimously confirmed by the Senate without reference to the usual committee. CHAP. LXIX. 1881.

After Garfield's death, in order to have a record of the new official inauguration at the Capital it was thought better to have Mr. Arthur take the oath of office also at Washington. This was administered by Chief Justice Waite in the presence of the Cabinet, ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, Gen. Sherman, Senator Sherman and Justice Strong of the U. S. Supreme Court. The ceremony was informal but very solemn. The President delivered a brief inaugural. After alluding feelingly to the sad event that had placed him in his present position he says: "All the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic security and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit, and to see that the nation shall profit by his example and experience."

Destructive forest fires occurred in the State of Michigan during the first week in September. A terrific hurricane was blowing at the time, and the fire leaped from the forest across the clearings and burned the houses and barns of the inhabitants. Several hundred persons perished from the flames and exposure, and the cattle and other domestic animals died by thousands. It is estimated that several hundred square miles of territory were literally burned over, and whole villages were destroyed almost entirely. As is usual in such cases, the people's sympathies were enlisted and assistance in the form of money and needed supplies flowed in to aid the sufferers.

Since the Centennial celebration of the conflict at

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Lexington, April 19, 1775, there have been many others partaking in some instances of a local rather than a national interest. A few were national, as they commemorated events which had a commanding influence upon the progress of the Revolution. "The Centennial" in 1876, because of the day it commemorated, was purely national in its character, and as such was by far the most important; then came the celebration at Saratoga,[1] which, because of its influence, has been reckoned among the fifteen decisive battles of the world,[2] as it was this victory which decided the French government to acknowledge the Independence of the United States. Then followed the treaty with that power, and the alliance which in due time brought aid both by sea and land to the decisive campaign, which ended with the surrender of Cornwallis on the 19th of October, 1781. This surrender being the most important of all events of that period except the Declaration, its anniversary became more than usually interesting to the people of the United States, as that victory was the virtual end of the war. The celebration was rendered still more striking by the presence of the invited guests of the nation—Frenchmen and Germans. They were the descendants or relatives of the officers belonging to these nations, who in that day aided in the cause—Lafayette, Rochambeau, De Grasse and the Baron von Steuben.[3]

The Forty-seventh Congress assembled on Monday, December 5th; when both Houses were organized President Arthur sent in his first annual Message. After alluding to the bereavement of the nation in the loss of President Garfield, he proceeds to discuss the affairs of the country. In relation to the neutrality and guarantee of the Panama Canal he assumes the same position that was taken by President Garfield, and enunciated by Sec-

[1] Hist. p. 481. [2] Chesney's Fifteen Battles.
[3] See Patton's Memorial of the Yorktown Celebration.

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retary Blaine in his note to Mr. Lowell, our Minister to Great Britain. The Message says: "My lamented predecessor felt it his duty to place before the European powers the reasons which make the prior guarantee of the United States indispensable, and for which the interjection of any foreign guarantee might be regarded as a superfluous and unfriendly act." "I have not hesitated to supplement the action of my predecessor by proposing to her Majesty's Government the modification of that instrument (the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 1850), and the abrogation of such clauses thereof as do not comport with the obligations of the United States toward Colombia, or with the vital needs of the two friendly parties to the compact."

On Civil Service Reform the Message says: "Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should so far as practicable be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers." On the Indian question he recommended that lands or homesteads should be allotted in severalty to such Indians as desire it to induce them to become civilized; he also urged that liberal appropriations be made to support schools for Indian children.

All the members of Garfield's Cabinet, except Sec. Lincoln, resigned. The new officers were: F. T. Frelinghuysen of N. J., Secretary of State; C. T. Folger of N. Y., Treasury; Wm. E. Chandler of Vt., Navy; Henry M. Teller of Col., Interior; T. O. Howe of Wis., Postmaster-General; Benj. H. Brewster of Penn., Attorney-General.

The country continued to advance in its prosperity during the whole of the year 1881. The income from Internal Revenue was unprecedentedly large, owing to our industrial progress, and the consequent increase of general business throughout the country, as well as that

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derived from duties on imported merchandise. The surplus of these importations has been very largely of articles of luxury, such as textile fabrics of an unusually expensive character; works of art of almost every variety, evincing a tendency in those having the means to gratify their taste in the adornments of persons or of dwellings. These heavy importations of luxuries must aid in turning the balance of trade against us, seeing that our exports may not be hereafter so large as for the last few years, when the crops of Europe were comparatively short. Financial prudence takes alarm at this unusual expenditure.[1]

The last six months of the year paid off more than $75,000,000 of the national debt, which on Jan. 1, 1882, was in round numbers about $1,703,000,000.

The American people have taken an interest in explorations, not only in the Antarctic Ocean, but also in the Arctic,[2] in efforts to reach the North Pole. After Dr. Kane's return from his unsuccessful attempt to rescue Sir John Franklin, Dr. Isaac J. Hayes, who accompanied him in capacity of surgeon, organized an expedition to explore what he believed to be an open sea around the Pole. This theory is held by many, though it has not yet been verified; thus far the discoveries made do not prove its fallacy. Dr. Hayes was aided by private subscriptions; he sailed from Boston direct for the west coast of Greenland, arriving at Upernavik (74° north) in that country on the 12th of August. His picked crew consisted of only fourteen men, but here he obtained a few more. He sailed again, expecting to reach a point about 79° or 80° north, but was frozen in in latitude 78°. By means of sledges and with much toil he reached Grinnell Land, 81° 35′ north lat. and west long. 70° 30′, beyond which further progress was impeded on account of rotten ice and cracks. This was the most northerly point

1860. July 6.

Aug. 30.

1861. May 11.

[1] Hist. p. 1059.

[2] Hist. pp. 742, 841.

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thus far reached. From a high peak of land in the vicinity Dr. Hayes saw what he believed to be the open sea surrounding the Pole, but still further north appeared other high land. CHAP. LXIX. 1861.

Captain Charles F. Hall, a practical whaleman who became interested in the subject, set out on an exploration from New London, Conn., in 1860 in a whale-ship; unfortunately losing his boat he was compelled to return without accomplishing his purpose. Nothing daunted, he organized another expedition and sailed for the Arctic regions in 1864. He penetrated north of Hudson's Bay, and brought home many relics of Sir John Franklin and much important information. Captain Hall spent five years among the Esquimaux; learning their language and obtaining a knowledge of their customs; he returned to the United States in 1869. He now received aid from Congress and again sailed in the schooner *Polaris*, 400 tons burden. He reached 81° 38′ north, but impeded by ice he made a sledge expedition, and reached 82° 16′ —about 502 statute miles from the Pole; he returned to the ship, where soon after he was taken ill and suddenly died. Captain Tyson of Hall's crew with eighteen others became separated from the latter, when suddenly the ice on which they were, separated from the main field and they were carried away; thus they floated, in different directions, about two thousand miles, and were finally rescued by the British steamship *Tigress*. 1864. 1871.

Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka, of the United States Army, left New York in the ship *Eothen*. This expedition was fitted out by private subscription, the main object being to ascertain more fully in respect to the fate of Sir John Franklin. It was very successful. 1878. June 19.

A recent expedition (1879) under the command of Lieutenant De Long was fitted out by the munificence of James Gordon Bennett of New York City. De Long, in a staunch steam vessel, the *Jeannette*, chose the new

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CHAP. LXIX. 1881.

route through Behring Straits; all the others passed up either the west side of Greenland or the west side of Norway. When fairly through the Straits the *Jeannette* headed toward the Pole, but when in the latitude of about 71° was caught in the ice near an island since known as *Herald Island*, and thence held fast; she floated helplessly twenty-one months in a north-westerly direction, until finally crushed by the ice in latitude about 77,° and near west longitude 160° from Greenwich. The crew took to the boats, and a portion of them reached land at the mouth of the river Lena in the Russian Empire. George W. Melville, engineer of the expedition, one of the survivors, heroically returned with well-equipped forces, found and buried the bodies of De Long and his companions (April 7, 1882), and secured the records.

Prof. Nordenskjöld, sailing from Tromsoë in Norway on the Atlantic, passed round to the east and reached Behring Straits in the Pacific, thus accomplishing the long sought for "North-east Passage"(1878–9).

Meanwhile, expeditions had been fitted out in Europe—from Germany, Austria, Denmark, Norway, France and England. The English Lieut. Aldrich, under Commandant Nares in 1876, reached the nearest point to the Pole, 83° 07′ N., and Commander Markham of the same expedition attained to 83° 20′ 26″ N.

These explorations have assumed an international character. The plan proposed is for each government at some convenient point to establish depots for provisions and suitable materials for making repairs. Parties can avail themselves of these as starting points, and fall back upon them when necessity requires. The United States government has already two such stations; one at Point Barrow and one at Lady Franklin Bay—north of Smith Sound—about 81° 30′ north and 50° west longitude. The latter is the most northerly point ever inhabited for a length of time; it being about 588 statute miles from the Pole.

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THE FARTHEST POINT NORTH

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Russia has a similar station at the mouth of the Lena river, and the remaining European governments propose to establish at least seven other depots which explorers can make available.

Point Barrow is the extreme northern point of land belonging to Alaska, and is very near the 156th degree of west longitude and about 71 degrees north. This station is also used as a place of refuge for American ships that visit the Arctic Ocean in pursuit of whales, when they find themselves in need of assistance. The station is equipped with the appliances required for such purpose, and adapted for that region of the dangers occurring from snow and floating fields of ice. It is also supplied with provisions suited to probable exigencies of the case, and in consequence, the whalers often make it a stopping-place. The station has recently been completely fitted out in every respect.

The interest of the people in these discoveries did not flag, and Congress, in 1880, ordered an appropriation for an expedition to make "scientific observations and explorations in the Arctic seas." Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greely of the army was detailed for the purpose and placed in command, on June 17, 1881. Three years were spent in this service; a great amount of valuable information was obtained; and a sledging-party, composed of Lieut. James B. Lockwood and Serg't David L. Brainerd, with an Eskimo named Christiansen, reached nearer the North Pole than ever before. That point, being verified by instruments, was found to be 83° 24′ north latitude:—that is, about 450 statute miles from the Pole. The Stars and Stripes were planted, and the party, compelled by necessity, turned back. Across an open sea they saw toward the north a point of land apparently fifteen miles distant, which they named Cape Washington.

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CHAPTER LXX.

ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

House of Representatives; number of members fixed.—Tariff Commission.—Tariff of 1883.—National Banks.—Civil Service Examinations.—Labor Bureau.—The Nation's Capital.—Washington Monument.—Morrison Tariff.—Presidential Canvass and Platforms.—Number of Votes Cast.—Expositions in Atlanta and New Orleans.

CHAP. LXX. 1882. Feb. 25.

The Forty-Seventh Congress during its first session fixed by law the number of the members of the House of Representatives at 325 for ten years, commencing with the Forty-Eighth Congress, March 4, 1883, and ending with the Fifty-Third, March 3, 1893. The ratio of constituents for each Congressman, as based on the census of 1880, is 151,918. The ratio of constituents for each member of the *First* Congress in 1789 was 30,000.

The continued prosperity in the industries of the country induced a state of financial affairs, quite unusual among nations—that of having a surplus of revenue. The United States Government had more income than was required to pay its current expenses, the interest on the debt, and also to lift the outstanding bonds as they became due. Hence arose the question, how to diminish the revenue. The bonds that had a long time to run could be canceled only by paying a very high premium, and that fact suggested another consideration:—was it fair that this generation alone should bear the burdens of the war debt, and by paying it, relieve the people of the

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future? To meet this difficulty, Congress authorized the President to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, a "Tariff Commission" of nine members. This Commission was enjoined "to take into consideration and thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, mining and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff or a revision of the exisiting tariff upon a scale of justice to all interests." The Commission was selected with great care, having for its members, civilians, gentlemen of intelligence and practical wisdom. On the subjects of investigation, it visited the different centres of manufacturing, of mining and of mercantile interests and heard patiently and recorded the opinions of manufacturers and merchants, of extreme protectionists, of absolute free traders and of believers in a tariff for revenue only, inviting men of intelligence in the various fields of industry to give their views and furnish statistics in relation to the subjects with which they were specially conversant. The Commission had in view to adjust the rate of the tariff and also that of the internal revenue so as to diminish the annual income of the Government by $70,000,000, which was deemed a sufficient reduction. After a careful and laborious investigation, they were able to make their report to Congress at the time designated—December 4, 1882.

Congress, in the main following the suggestions of the Commission, passed a revised tariff to take effect on July 1, 1883. The main features of this revision may be summed up: in respect to imported articles of luxury and of great value the tariff was not diminished, but sometimes increased; on many articles of general use it was reduced. In respect to internal revenue the tax was taken off numerous classes of articles, but not much off tobacco, whiskey and other classes of spirituous

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CHAP. LXX. liquors—these being deemed luxuries of even doubtful utility. This revised tariff and schedule of diminished rates in the Internal revenue tax, went into effect; but after one year's experiment, it was found that the income from imports was diminished only $23,000,000 instead of the forty that had been estimated, and that of internal revenue $19,000,000 instead of thirty. The prosperity of the country had been so great that the people were able to purchase more than usual of high-priced foreign articles, while their industrial energy produced more than usual of home manufactures, the lower tariff on the cheaper grades not having been changed enough to make any difference either in volume of importations or in home prices; in consequence, the revenue from both sources was diminished only forty-two million instead of the seventy anticipated. The Commission in its estimates had erred, but on the safe side, so far as concerned the protective policy of the dominant party and the national income, as the Government had still a surplus instead of a deficiency. Meanwhile, during the same year the national debt had been reduced $101,000,000 and the interest on the same five millions. This debt on November 1, 1884, was $1,417,159,862.

1884. July 1.

1882. July 12. The national banks[1] had now been in existence nearly twenty years, and their utility in promoting exchange, and thereby encouraging the industries and inter-State commerce, was so valuable that Congress passed an act authorizing any such bank or association to renew its charter for twenty years under the usual conditions and with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency. The number of national banks that had been chartered up to that time was 2,958, located in every State.

The introduction of what is termed the "spoils system" in 1829[2] became, as we have seen, a corrupting influence in our politics, and had, as a matter of course,

[1] Hist., p. 991. [2] Hist., pp. 705, 780.

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grown to greater and greater proportions as the party so long in power more and more attracted to itself the self-seeking elements. The agitation to counteract this evil by a reform of the civil service began in 1871, when the investigation of the subject was entrusted to a commission[1]. Congress finally embodied the main features of the proposed reform in a law. The latter consists of fifteen sections, the sum of which is as follows: "For open competition examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the public service. . . . That all the offices shall be filled by selections from among those graded highest as the results of such competitive examinations. . . . That there shall be a period of probation before any absolute appointment is made. . . . That no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligation to contribute to any political fund or render any political service. . . . That no person habitually using intoxicating beverages to excess shall be appointed to or retained in any office to which the provisions of this act are applicable." 1883. Jan. 16.

Upon the passage of this act President Arthur issued the following rules: "*First*—No person in civil service shall use his office, his official authority or influence, either to coerce the political action of any person or body to interfere with any election. *Second*—No person in the public service shall for that reason be under any obligation to contribute to any political fund or render any political service, and he will not be removed or otherwise prejudiced for refusing to do so."

The important interests of labor within the nation having been recognized more fully than formerly, Congress created by law "A Bureau of Labor in the Interior Department, the Commissioners of which shall collect information upon the subject of Labor in its relations to Capital, the hours of labor and the earnings of laboring

[1] Hist., pp. 1068, 1091.

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CHAP. LXX. men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual and moral prosperity."

1783. Aug. 7. The Continental Congress in 1783 had passed a resolution to commemorate the patriotic services of George Washington by an equestrian statue, which was to be erected "where the residence of Congress shall be established." This resolution was not carried into immediate effect, because Congress then had no fixed place of meeting or "residence," and there were no funds available. Afterward, when the present government was established, Congress authorized the President (Washington) to select a site on the Potomac for the national capital,

1790. Dec 6. which duty he performed and also supervised the laying-out of the city, a French engineer—M. Pierre Charles L'Enfant—making the necessary surveys. Because of its extent the plan was for a time much ridiculed by certain writers in the newspapers, who could not appreciate the comprehensive views of Washington. Since the nation has so much extended its territory, and so much increased in population, it is fitting that it have a large and beautiful capital, whose plan may be susceptible of improvements corresponding to the onward progress of the nation from age to age. The undulating surface of the site supplies one of the conditions; while the original plan of the city, with its wide cross-streets and noble avenues, has shown itself the best that could have been devised. As a national capital Washington has pre-eminent advantages, and a prospective grandeur of which no other such city can boast.

George Washington died on December 14, 1799, and Congress met for the first time in the present capital on the first Monday of December, 1800. The proposal for a memorial for the Father of his Country was renewed, and the following Congress appointed a Committee on the subject, which recommended that "a Mausoleum for George Washington be erected in the City of Washing-

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ton. Congress adopted the recommendation of the Committee, and voted funds to carry it into effect. However, no definite action was taken. Thirty-two years afterward a few inhabitants of the city itself, wearied with the continued delay of Congress, formed a "Monument Association," and appealed for aid to the people themselves, whose subscriptions were to be limited to one dollar each. Money came in slowly this time also, and fifteen years passed before enough was collected to authorize the Association to begin building. Congress meanwhile had made a grant and decided upon the site for the monument. The work was commenced and the corner-stone laid.

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1801. Jan. 1.

1848. July 4.

The Association continued its management, but for want of funds the work progressed very slowly. After the close of the Civil War Congress assumed the responsibility of finishing the monument, and making from time to time the required appropriations, completed the work under the supervision of its own officers. It is the highest stone column ever erected by man, its height being 555 feet. The cap or apex of the monument is made of the metal aluminum, in the form of a four-sided pyramid. The whole civilized world took an interest in the completion of this monument. The Association invited other nations to take part by sending blocks of stone to be inserted in the walls. These blocks, nearly one hundred in number, coming from as many governments, societies and associations of men, have been placed in the interior of the column, where they can be seen with their various inscriptions and emblems, and where they are ever to remain, mementoes of the interest manifested by the givers in the memory of George Washington.

On the occasion of laying the corner-stone Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, pronounced an appropriate and eloquent oration, and now, thirty-seven years afterward, on invitation, he prepared an address to cele-

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CHAP. LXX. brate the completion of the monument, but owing to the feebleness of his health the address was read by a friend, ex-Governor Long, of Massachusetts. In it Mr. Winthrop, in referring to Washington, says: "Of that name, of that character, of that example, of that glorious guiding light, our obelisk, standing on the very spot selected by Washington himself for a monument to the American Revolution, and on the site that marks our national meridian, will be a unique memorial and symbol forever."

1885. Feb. 22.

1883. The Tariff question was not perceptibly settled by the law of 1883, but on the assembling of Congress it was again taken up. The debate on the Morrison tariff bill—thus named from the Democratic member who introduced it—in the House of Representatives, during the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, indicated great diversity of opinion among our legislators; some advocating a tariff for revenue only, some free trade, others a tariff to equalize the cost of production, and still others a high wall of protection against foreign competition. The discussion was prolonged and afterward continued in the newspapers, and then passed over into the Presidential canvass of 1884. The progress in the general industries of the country had been so great for the few previous years that there was on hand an unusual amount of various manufactured goods, in truth far beyond the demands of the people, and in consequence of this injudicious overproduction, certain classes of manufacturing partially ceased during the greater portion of the years 1883–84, and labor for the time was quite depressed.

In the Presidential canvass of 1884 the national conventions of the main political parties—the Republican and the Democratic—were both held in Chicago; the former meeting on June 5 and the latter on July 10, 1884. They professed to enunciate the political and economical principles of each. The Republican convention pledged

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itself "to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus by such methods as will relieve the tax-payers without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country. . . . We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, and the enforcement of the eight-hour law. . . . The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, should be completed by its extension to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. . . . The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and correct returns." The Democratic convention announced "that as the Nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. . . . That the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. . . . Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. . . . That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has been yearly collected from a suffering people. . . . That the party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests, and to promote their healthy growth. . . . We demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes. . . . We believe in a free ballot and a fair count. . . . We favor honest civil service reform. . . . We favor free education by common schools. . . . We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty."

It will be seen that so far as words can indicate, there was but little difference between the declared purposes of the two parties except that each was intent upon securing control of the Government; and, in fact, the canvass finally turned largely upon the candidates. Much had been said and written, in and out of Congress, for and against the protective policy of the Republican

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CHAP. LXI. 1884.

party and its result in the enormous surplus left in the hands of the Government, which was by many regarded as caused by "unnecessary and therefore unjust taxation." But while many Republicans shared the growing opposition to the policy, many Democrats were "high-tariff men," and thus both parties were timid as to outspoken expression on the real difference between the two. Both announced a necessity for "revising the tariff;" but the Democrats asserted that it should be revised by a party opposed to its principle of "taxing all for the benefit of a few," while the Republicans claimed that it should be "revised by its friends, in the interest of protecting American industries."

The Republican convention nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for President, and John A. Logan, of Illinois, for Vice-President; the Democratic, nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, for the first office and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the second. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi, the candidates of the Greenback Labor party, had been regularly put in nomination at Indianapolis, May 28; and John P. St. John, of Kansas, and William Daniel, of Maryland, the candidates of the Prohibition party, were nominated by a convention held in Pittsburgh, July 23, 1884. In the election, held November 4, 1884, the candidates nominated by the Democratic convention were chosen, and the Lower House of Congress became Democratic by one hundred and eighty-two members to one hundred and forty Republicans—a majority of forty-two; the Senate remaining Republican. Throughout the Union, according to law, the number of inhabitants represented by each Congressman is the same, but in this election there was a marked discrepancy in the different sections in the average number of votes cast for each. In the *twenty-two* original free-labor States the average number of votes cast for each Con-

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gressman was 34,595; in the *five* border States it was 29,360; and in the *eleven* recent Confederate States, 22,958.

As an evidence of the increasing interest in material progress in the southern section of the country, may be cited two Expositions: one held in Atlanta, Georgia, in which were exhibited remarkably fine specimens of the productions of that section, agricultural and otherwise. The Exposition partook almost of a national character, as so many of the products of mechanical industries were sent from the manufacturing centres of the northern section to be placed on exhibition. The other and similar Exposition was held in New Orleans in the winter (1884–85); the latter in its design was more comprehensive than the former. One object was to demonstrate the importance to the foreign trade of the Great Valley, in having a port so accessible as that of New Orleans; another to encourage the development of the peculiar agricultural resources around the Gulf, and also to stimulate the enterprise of our neighbors, the inhabitants of the sister republics south of the Rio Grande.

The administration of Mr. Arthur drew to a close. Though disturbed at first by the tragic death of President Garfield, it had been one in which the nation made progress in its commerce, in its industries, both mechanical and agricultural, in its educational interests, increase of population and in the founding of homes for happy families in the unoccupied territories of the far West, and thus peace and prosperity reigned throughout the land. President Arthur, although embarrassed by the mode of his entrance upon the great office, fulfilled the hopes of his friends, and gave the country an able, dignified, honorable and satisfactory administration of the vast interests committed to his hands.

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CHAPTER LXXI.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—Inaugural and Cabinet.—Death of General Grant.—Funeral Services in the U. S.—In Westminster Abbey.—Death of General McClellan.—Auditing the Books of the Treasury.—The Financial Policy.—Revision of Tariff Attempted.—Labor Arbitration.—Presidential Succession.—Counting the Electoral Votes.—Inter State Commerce Act.—Presidential Candidates and Platforms.—Department of Agriculture.—Public Schools.—Admission of States.

CHAP. LXXI. 1837.

Grover Cleveland, the son and third child of Richard F. Cleveland, a Presbyterian clergyman, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, on the 18th day of March, 1837. His father was of English descent, and his mother of Irish and German. She is described as a woman "with a kindly face and unusual strength of character." The father, in order to become pastor of a church in the State of New York, moved thither when Grover was a child. The latter at the age of fourteen began to earn his own living as a clerk in a country store. This employment he soon left in order to prepare himself to enter Hamilton College; but, shortly after, the father died, leaving a widow and nine children, and they in limited circumstances; thus the want of means compelled the boy to relinquish a collegiate education, and he devoted himself to the support of his mother and her family. Afterward he engaged in teaching school; but at the age of nineteen entered a legal firm in Buffalo in the capacity of a clerk, meanwhile studying law. Eight

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years afterward he was admitted to the bar, and four years later he was elected as a Democratic candidate to the office of Assistant District Attorney for the County of Erie. In 1871 he was elected Sheriff of the county and served in that office four years with business-like efficiency. Eight years later he was chosen Mayor of the city of Buffalo. The latter result was the outgrowth of a union, without reference to political parties, of those who wished reform in their municipal affairs, which had been shamefully mismanaged; and Mr. Cleveland's record thus far led them to believe him to be the man to reform the abuses. CHAP. LXXI. 1828. Jan. 9

His energetic, honest, and able administration of the Mayoralty of Buffalo won for him the marked esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens; so much so that the suggestion of his name in connection with the Governorship of the State was first suggested by a Republican newspaper in Buffalo, although he had always been and still continued a "Democrat of the Democrats."[1] No citizen of Buffalo had as yet ever held the office, while there was a prevailing sentiment among the people in the extreme Western portion of the State that in this respect they had been slighted. Mr. Cleveland was elected by an unprecedented majority—195,000. This—like his election to the Buffalo mayoralty—was owing to disagreements in the Republican party, and for a purpose thousands of that organization voted for him, having seen how the Republicans of Buffalo had been justified, who had voted for this Democrat as Mayor of a Republican city. Mr. Cleveland's record as Governor pleased a large portion of his own party, although his bold vetoing of many bills which he did not approve from the Democratic Legislature caused much dissatisfaction. The Democratic Convention, however, nominated him for the Presidency, as their

[1] Dorsheimer's "Life of Cleveland."

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CHAP. LXXI. 1884.

most available man, Mr. James G. Blaine being the Republican candidate. The contest was hot and the result close, turning upon the vote of New York State. It is an interesting commentary on the importance of a national as compared with a State election, in the eyes of the rural voters, that although Mr. Cleveland received 27,836 more votes than when he had been elected Governor, his total of 563,154 votes was barely enough to give him New York's electoral vote, by a plurality of 1,047 over his chief opponent, Mr. Blaine, while he lacked more than fifty thousand of having a majority of the entire vote of the State—25,000 having voted for the Prohibitionist candidate and an equal number not having voted at all. A presidential election brings out thousands of voters who take no interest in minor contests.

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated President March 4, 1885, the oath of office being administered by Chief Justice Waite. A pleasing incident of the ceremony was Mr. Cleveland's using a small pocket Bible, which had been presented him when a boy by his mother.

The President in his Inaugural Address—that of the first Democratic President since 1860—was conciliatory in tone. Among other things he said: "At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that . . . our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workingmen employed on American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt extravagance and waste. . . . The people demand reform in the administration of the Government, and the ap-

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plication of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end Civil Service reform should be in good faith enforced. . . . In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men, there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the Constitution and its Amendments. . . . The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation, and charges them with all its duties, obligations and responsibilities."

CHAP. LXXI. 1885.

The Inaugural also urged the strict application of the Monroe doctrine, economy in the expenditures of the Government, the suppression of Mormon polygamy, the protection of the Indians and their admission to citizenship, and closed by invoking for the nation the Divine guidance and blessing.

President Cleveland invited to his Cabinet the following gentlemen: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; and Attorney General, A. H. Garland, of Arkansas; all of whom were promptly confirmed by the Senate.

The XLIXth Congress did not meet until the usual time, the first Monday in December. Before the arrival of that day occurred the deaths of two prominent Americans, General and ex-President U. S. Grant, and General George B. McClellan.

Dec. 7.

After his retirement from the Presidency, General Grant, accompanied by Mrs. Grant, had spent two years and four months in travelling, visiting Europe and the Holy Land, and finally completing a tour around the world. In the countries he visited no private citizen had

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CHAP. LXII. 1881.

ever before received so much honor and attention, his tour being almost a continuous ovation. On returning to his native land he decided to make his residence in the city of New York. It was not his nature to lead an inactive life, and in the course of a year or more he became interested in several enterprises. He was elected president of the Southern Mexican Railroad, that runs from the Rio Grande to the city of Mexico; he visited that country in order to study its people and its natural resources; he was one of the incorporators of the Nicaragua Canal; and was appointed by President Arthur one of the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with Mexico. He invested much of his means, as a silent partner, in a firm of bankers and brokers in the city of New York. Taking it for granted that its business was honestly and properly managed, and being engrossed in other duties, he took no practical notice of its affairs. The business was, however, conducted in a series of swindling operations; his own name having been traded upon in a most unauthorized manner. The bubble suddenly burst, and the ex-President was astounded to find himself bankrupt; although that was as nothing, compared with his mortification when he learned of the dishonorable and dishonest means by which it had been brought about.

He was now under the necessity of borrowing money to defray his current expenses. This fact induced him to begin writing his "Personal Memoirs," for the benefit of his family. The work had progressed about two-thirds when, as he says, "I had reason to suppose I was in a critical condition of health." A few months previous a slight ulceration appeared at the root of the tongue, which in the end developed into a form of cancer. He continued to work on his book, except when prostrated by weakness induced by pain. Never did he display more fortitude than when in an uncomplaining

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spirit he bore for nine months the almost continuous agony caused by this terrible disease. Thus in the line of duty, and in the sweet assurance of the Christian's hope, he calmly awaited orders, which came July 23, 1885, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. CHAP. LXXI. 1885.

He died at Mount MacGregor, a summer resort a few miles north of Saratoga, whither he had been removed in the hope of mitigating his sufferings. Simple and appropriate funeral services were held first at Mount MacGregor, and at their close the casket, under a guard of honor, was placed on a special train and taken to New York.

An imposing procession escorted the remains to the City Hall, where the usual lying in state continued for two days and one night. The remains were taken to Riverside Park on the banks of the Hudson in the upper portion of the city, about eight miles from the City Hall. The day of the funeral was charming, being comparatively cool—fleeting clouds warding off the hot rays of the sun—the air pure and bracing, while recent rains had made the earth rejoice, and the slopes of Riverside seemed dressed in living green.

The funeral pageant was conducted both on water and on land, and in its proportions exceeded any one that had hitherto occurred in the Union. Men-of-war and other United States vessels took position in the Hudson opposite Riverside the evening before, and at sunrise commenced firing minute guns. Numerous private yachts and steamers crowded with spectators were also present and remained till the ceremonies at the tomb were closed. Present with the family at the last services were the President and the Vice-President of the United States, ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, a number of United States Senators, the Generals of the Army, Sherman and Sheridan, and Generals Johnston and Buckner of the late Confederate Army; representative clergymen

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CHAP. LXXI. 1885.

of different denominations and other men of distinction. The Governors of sixteen States, some with their staffs, were present. Nearly fifty associations of the city itself and of various kinds took part in the procession, besides delegates from similar associations belonging to other cities and States. A profusion of emblems of mourning marked the route of the procession, but by no means were they thus limited, for they were to be seen in every street—some very elaborate and some very humble.

The coffin was deposited in a temporary tomb and, the last ceremonies being performed, the mortal remains of Ulysses Simpson Grant were left in charge of a guard of United States soldiers. In April, 1897, they were transferred to a superb mausoleum in Riverside Park; and in 1903 Mrs. Grant died, and was laid in the same resting-place.

At the same hour in which funeral services were being held at Mount MacGregor, by arrangement, similar ones were in progress in Westminister Abbey, London. That vast edifice was crowded by an assemblage of distinguished persons. The flags upon all the royal residences and yachts were lowered during the service. Canon Farrar delivered a funeral discourse after the usual burial service of the Church of England was read. He said in part:

"To-day we assemble at the obsequies of the great soldier, whose sun set while it was yet day. I desire to speak simply and directly, with generous appreciation but without flattery, of him whose death has made a a nation mourn. . . . Such careers are the glory of the American people; they show that they have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force; that men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accident of birth. Every man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God. . . . The hour came and the man was needed; Grant's success was not luck, but the result of inflexible faithfulness, indomitable resolution, sleepless energy,

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persistent tenacity. He rose by the upper gravitation of fitness. . . . If our two peoples which are one be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands?" This service was entirely English, both in its inception and in its celebration. CHAP. LXXI.

On the day of the funeral, memorial services were held in Paris by the American residents of that city; a number of prominent Frenchmen were present; and also at the same time funeral obsequies were held in the City of Mexico, while throughout the Union similar services were in progress in the cities and villages.

General George B. McClellan died at Orange, New Jersey, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His illness was brief, being an affection of the heart. He was a native of Philadelphia, the son of an eminent surgeon, Dr. George McClellan, of that city. He graduated from West Point Academy, and was at once ordered to active service in Mexico as second Lieutenant of Engineers. During the Crimean War he was sent by the United States Government to its scene of action in order to make observations on the military movements and plans of defence and attack, on which he presented to Congress an elaborate report. He soon afterward resigned his position in the army to engage in civil engineering, being employed in superintending the construction of railways. At the commencement of the Rebellion he offered his services to the United States and was accepted and put in command in Western Virginia. His distinguished military services have been treated in their place. After his second retirement from the army, he again engaged in civil affairs, meanwhile becoming a resident of New Jersey, of which State he was elected Governor. He was a man of very high culture and of the purest life, and endeared to all who knew him intimately. His funeral at his own request was simple and unostentatious, held in the Madison 1885. Oct. 29. 1864. Nov. 8.

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CHAP. LXXI. 1885.

Square Presbyterian Church in New York City. Of that denomination he was a member and a ruling elder, in which capacity he was often appointed to represent his church in ecclesiastical courts. The assemblage at the funeral was unusually large, and comprised numbers of prominent gentlemen in the army and navy and in the civil walks of life. No eulogy was pronounced nor address made on the occasion. The offers of the military and of those who had served under him to escort the remains or act as a guard of honor, were courteously declined by the family. His last resting-place is in the family plot in Trenton, New Jersey.

When Mr. Cleveland's administration entered upon its duties, the new Congress almost immediately began the labor of auditing thoroughly the books containing the financial accounts of the previous administrations for the past twenty-four years. After months of such investigation there was found a discrepancy of only a few cents. The vouchers for the collections and disbursements of these moneys were on file in the respective departments. During this twenty-four years—from March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1885—it is estimated that far more money was collected and paid out than had been in the entire period of eighteen administrations, or seventy-two years, from the first inauguration of George Washington, though that period had paid off the debt incurred by the Revolution, and had borne the expenses of two wars—that of 1812 and that with Mexico—and had purchased an immense amount of territory.

The same general policy in relation to the financial measures of the nation—such as the rates of import duties and of internal revenue—that had obtained in the previous six administrations was virtually continued during that of Mr. Cleveland. Within these four years no laws of a national character were enacted that directly influenced the material interests of the people, chiefly

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because the Senate was controlled by a Republican, and the House of Representatives by a Democratic, majority, and the latter was by no means harmonious or of one mind on many essential matters. The discussions, however, in the Houses of Congress and among the people on financial subjects—the tariff, internal revenue, and the disposal of the surplus—because of the uncertainty in regard to the final action of Congress, did interfere to a limited extent with the mining, manufacturing, mercantile and agricultural industries of the people, as well with the inter-State trade as with the foreign. Mr. Cleveland's administration was, therefore, quite uneventful, as it was much more executive than legislative in its character. He was noted, as in former executive offices, by an exact and untiring industry, scrupulously examining everything, and thus was enabled to veto a very large number of improper private pension bills, mostly of cases rejected by previous administrations in the Pension Bureau, but engineered through Congress. The work of Congress was for the most part confined to the usual routine of making the necessary appropriations for carrying on the Government. Laws previously enacted 1884
made provision for restoring to the public domain lands that had been granted to railways on certain conditions which involved forfeiture to the Government if the conditions were not complied with, and the President duly enforced these laws.

During this administration, however, an unusual amount of earnest discussion was had in the four sessions of the Forty-ninth and the Fiftieth Congresses, as well as in the public journals, in political meetings, and especially among the people, who read more than usual, on all the topics pertaining to the finances and the general material interests of the nation. Although during the four sessions, as mentioned above, no tariff nor tax bill passed Congress, the arguments used for and against the bills

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CHAP. LXXI. proposed will undoubtedly have an influence on future legislation on these subjects.

1885. Dec. 7. The Forty-ninth Congress in its first session entered upon a revision of the tariff, taking as its basis the tariff of 1883, the outgrowth of the Commission of 1882. The Morrison Tariff—thus designated from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who introduced it—for the most part applied the "horizontal" principle to that of 1883—that is, it diminished the latter's rates by *twenty per cent.* The House of Representatives, after discussing this measure at intervals for nearly the whole of the first session, finally failed to pass it. During the second session, owing to diversities of opinion on the subject among the members of the majority, no attempt was made to introduce another bill, and the whole matter was permitted to pass over to the Fiftieth Congress, whose members were about to be elected. In this election the people indicated that to some extent they had again changed their views on the prominent question of the tariff, or else were dissatisfied with their undecided Congressmen, as they chose a House of Representatives in which the Democratic majority of the former House was reduced from forty-two to thirteen.

Although during this administration the attempts to revise the tariff proved abortive, we may, for the sake of the connection and of the reader's convenience, note what was done by the Congress elected in the middle of Cleveland's term. In the first session of the Fiftieth

Dec. 5. Congress—which lasted from December 5, 1887, to October 20, 1888—the Committee of Ways and Means, through their Chairman, Mr. R. Q. Mills, introduced the bill known by his name. This bill, ignoring the horizontal mode as well as the revision plan, framed a tariff on a practically new schedule of rates. The distinctive features of the bill had been foreshadowed by President Cleveland in his annual message on the assembling of

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this Congress. Therein the theory of what is characterized as the protective system was challenged to a contest before the people with the opposing policy of a tariff for revenue only. With characteristic boldness, Mr. Cleveland spared neither political friend nor foe, but called Congress to account for tariff inaction. He said: "The amount of money annually exacted through the operation of the present laws from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government. . . . The public treasury . . . becomes a hoarding place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use . . . threatening financial disturbance and inviting schemes of public plunder. . . . If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs." CHAP. LXXI.

Thus spurred up, the Democratic majority responded by the introduction of the "Mills bill," and a line was definitely drawn between the two financial and industrial policies; as such, the various questions involved were afterward the most prominent themes for debate in the presidential canvass of the following year and in the election of the members of the Fifty-first Congress.

The Mills bill, after a discussion unprecedentedly lengthened, finally passed the Democratic House by a slender majority and was sent to the Republican Senate. The latter body, for the most part, deemed its main provisions so radical and its changes so sweeping that, instead of attempting to amend it, they framed a bill of their own as a substitute, and passing that, sent it to the House; which in its turn declined to take up at all the discussion of so utterly different a bill, but adjourned, leaving the matter to be acted upon in the second session. Meantime the Presidential canvass was in progress, and the issue was before the people themselves, the Democratic party standing upon the Mills House bill and 1888. Oct. 30.

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CHAP. LXXI. the Republicans upon the Senate bill, as exponents of the party positions on the Tariff question. Mr. Cleveland's message had at last crystallized the Democratic policy to one of a "Revenue Tariff," and Mr. Blaine (Dec. 1887), then in Paris, had caught it up and by some public letters had aroused the Republican enthusiasm to a fight for the "Protective Tariff;" and so the lines of battle had been accepted by both parties, out of Congress as well as within it.

1888. Dec. 3. When the Fiftieth Congress met in its second session the Senate renewed the discussion of the substitute bill, and having passed it a second time sent it to the Lower House; but before the latter acted upon it Congress itself came to its legal end on March 3, 1889. The tariff had now remained unrevised for six years—that is, since July 1, 1883.

Various labor associations had appealed to Congress for relief, since some manufacturers and contractors had by means of agents imported from Europe unskilled laborers, whom they employed at much lower wages than the American workmen could afford to accept, if they and their families were to live in their usual comfort and to educate their children. Congress in consequence enacted a law forbidding any person or corporation to import ordinary laborers under contract to perform labor or service. The law, however, provided for employing "skilled workmen in foreign countries to perform such labor in the United States, in or upon any new industry not at present therein established," and also for engaging, "professional actors, artists, lecturers or singers, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants." This law was afterward amended so as to prohibit objectionable persons landing, and in addition provided that they be sent back to the port from which they came.

Provision was also made by law for adjusting, by

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means of arbitration, differences as to wages between employers and employes. President Cleveland, in his Message of April, 1886, recommended that the existing Labor Bureau should be enlarged to a Board of Commissioners, with power of arbitration. This was done, the Commission being empowered to select arbitrators to whom "the matters of difference are to be submitted in writing by all the parties," and to the latter is given "full opportunity to be heard on oath;" the decision of the arbitrators to be signed with their respective names and sent to the Commissioner of Labor, who shall make such decision public; the entire expense to be borne by the National government.

CHAP. LXXI. 1888. Oct. 1.

The unusual number, in recent years, of the deaths of Presidents and Vice-Presidents when in office, arrested the attention of the thoughtful. This was notable in the case of President Garfield, and had been emphasized by the death of Vice-President Hendricks on November 25, 1885. President Cleveland called attention to it in his first Message, December, 1885, and Congress prudently thereon passed a law regulating the succession in such contingencies. The following statute was enacted: "In case of removal, death, resignation or disability of both the President and Vice-President, a member of the Cabinet shall, in the following order, act as President until the disability is removed or a President elected: The Secretary of State; that of the Treasury; that of War; the Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, and Secretary of the Navy." It is also provided: "That whenever the power and duties of the office of President of the United States shall devolve upon any of the persons named herein, if Congress be not in session . . . such person shall issue a proclamation convening Congress in extraordinary session, giving twenty days' notice of the time of meeting."

1886. June 18.

It seems a singular oversight, but as yet there has been

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CHAP. LXXI. 1887. Feb. 3.

made no provision by Congress for the contingency of the death or disability of a President-elect before the time specified for him to assume office.

For the purpose of defining more clearly the authenticity of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the mode of their counting in the joint Convention of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, Congress enacted an Electoral law, an important item of which is that the determination of the State authorities as to who are the electors of the State "shall be conclusive, and shall govern in the counting of the electoral votes, as provided in the Constitution, so far as the ascertainment of the electors appointed by such State is concerned." It is worthy of notice that the principle embodied in this law was the rule adopted and acted upon by the special "Electoral Commission" [1] which, in 1877, was specially constituted to determine the legality of the electoral votes given the respective presidential candidates, Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden. That Commission decided that the "votes to be counted are those presented by the States, and when ascertained and presented by the proper authorities of the States they must be counted." Thus, in counting the electoral votes in the joint Convention of the two Houses of Congress, it is forbidden to go behind the authenticated returns from the States.

In a country like ours, possessing a territory so extensive as to have an unusual variety of climate, and having, also, a population that is industrious and progressive, of necessity the traffic between the different sections must become great and quite complicated. The latter phase would be the outgrowth of rival and parallel lines of railroads, extending from the vast grain fields and pasture lands of the valley of the Mississippi to the cities and seaports on the Atlantic slope. These rival railways

[1] Hist. p. 1070.

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in their competition with one another, were induced to "cut rates" both on freight and passengers to such an extent as to cause a deficiency in their respective incomes. In order, therefore, to make up these losses, they charged much higher rates on the portions of their several routes where this rivalry did not exist. In consequence, the people who lived in the vicinity of the latter became the victims of these unequal rates of charge, and they appealed for relief to the National government. To remedy the evil, Congress passed what is termed the "Inter-State Commerce Act." CHAP. LXXI. 1887. Feb. 4.

In order to carry into effect the provisions of this law, five Commissioners are appointed by the President. This Commission is authorized "to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers, subject to the provisions of this Act."

It is provided: "That all charges made for any service rendered or to be rendered in the transportation of passengers or of property from one State or Territory to another shall be reasonable and just; and every unjust and unreasonable charge for such service is prohibited and declared to be unlawful." On these general principles the Commission is empowered to act, and it is hoped in the end to be of great benefit to the people at large, though it is thought in some cases not to be equally fair and just toward the common carriers.

When the time came to nominate candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency four Conventions were held: That of the Union Labor Party met in Cincinnati, and nominated Alson J. Streeter of Illinois for the Presidency and Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas for the Vice-Presidency; the Convention of the Prohibitionists met at Indianapolis, and nominated Clinton B. Fiske of New Jersey for the first office and John A. Brooks of Missouri for the second; the Democratic Convention met at St. Louis, and renominated President 1888. May 16. May 31. June 7.

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CHAP. LXXI. Cleveland, and for the second office Allen J. Thurman of Ohio; that of the Republicans met at Chicago, and
1888. June 21. nominated for the first office Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and for the second Levi Parsons Morton of New York.

As to the principles on which the canvass was to be conducted by the two main political parties, the President had given the key, as has been mentioned,[1] in his Annual Message the previous December, and the Democratic platform was framed to coincide with the theories of that document. After endorsing the platform of 1884 in its position on the tariff and its opposition to what were termed "sumptuary laws," the Convention said: "We endorse the views of President Cleveland in his last Annual Message upon the question of tariff reduction; we also endorse the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation," the latter statement being in allusion to the Mills Tariff Bill, then before the Lower House. The Republican platform said: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe: we will support the interests of America."

Other than the tariff position, both platforms contained chiefly the usual "pointing with pride" to their own, and "viewing with alarm" the other party's doings or
Nov. 6. omissions. The Republican nominees, Harrison and Morton, were elected.

In the second session of the Fiftieth Congress was
1889. Feb. 11. established a "Department of Agriculture," the Secretary of which is a member of the Cabinet.

Under the usual conditions, four new States were ad-
Feb. 27. mitted to the Union: South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Washington.

[1] Hist. p. 1101.

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CHAPTER LXXII.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—Inauguration Ceremonies.—Inaugural Address.—The Cabinet.—The last National Centennial Celebration.—Ceremonies at Washington's Inauguration.—The Imitations.—The Coming from Elizabethport.—The School Girls.—Religious Services.—Meeting at the Statue in Wall street.—Military Parade.—The Civic Parade.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, the great-great-grandfather of the present President, was a native of the Colony of Virginia. We infer he was held in high respect by his fellow-colonists, inasmuch as he was at times a member, and also Speaker, of the House of Burgesses. In 1765 he took decided ground in opposition to the famous Stamp Act. He was a member of the greatly influential Continental Congresses of 1774, 1775 and 1776. As a member of the latter he signed the Declaration of Independence. The second son of Benjamin Harrison,—William Henry,—was elected President of the United States[1] by an unprecedented majority. He was the grandfather of the Benjamin Harrison who was elected President in 1888.

1840.

Benjamin Harrison was born in the homestead of his grandfather at North Bend, Ohio. He grew up a farmer's son, and did his share of work when not at school. After being prepared at an academy in the vicinity he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, where he was graduated in 1852, in his nineteenth year.

1833. Aug. 20.

[1] Hist. p. 734.

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CHAP. LXXII. His position was high in the studies required in the college and also among his fellow-students, he being especially noted for his off-hand speeches, which, owing to their clearness of expression and appropriateness of thought, appeared to have been written out in his study instead of being impromptu. On graduation he began
1854. the study of law, and in 1854 we find him beginning its practice in the City of Indianapolis. In 1860 he was elected Reporter of the State Supreme Court.

Troublous times for the Union were foreshadowed.
1861. Fort Sumter had been fired upon, and that act fired the
Ap'l 12. hearts of the loyal men of the nation. Into the preceding exciting Presidential canvass Harrison entered heartily, and was in deep sympathy with the political principles of the party that elected Abraham Lincoln.

When President Lincoln issued a proclamation for troops in 1862, Harrison offered his services to Governor Oliver P. Morton, was accepted, and authorized to raise a regiment. He acted promptly. On his way back to his office he purchased a military cap, secured a fifer and drummer, and at once threw out a flag from his office window and began recruiting men for the Union army. One company was soon obtained, put into camp and set at learning to drill, Harrison having, at his own expense, employed a drill-master from Chicago. The regiment—the Seventieth Indiana Volunteers—was completed in a comparatively short time, and the Governor appointed Harrison Colonel. Distrusting his own knowledge of military tactics, Harrison declined the office, but was finally persuaded to accept it. He entered the service as soon as possible with his regiment, being assigned to duty under General Buell, in Kentucky. He commanded his regiment with marked success in a number of battles. Afterward, for his bravery and discretion, he was recommended by General Joseph Hooker, under whose eye he had come, for brevet in the grade of Brigadier-

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General, as an "officer of superior abilities, and of great professional and personal worth." He received the brevet January 23, 1865. CHAP. LXXII.

When at Atlanta with Sherman, Harrison was ordered by the War Department to report at Indianapolis for special duty. That duty was to obtain recruits for the army. Aided by his popularity he was so successful in enlisting men that the work was finished by the 9th of November, and he was free to set out to join his command in the march to the sea, but being unavoidably delayed, he arrived too late, as General Sherman was already far on his march. He found, however, an order to report at Chattanooga. There he was put at the head of a brigade, and transferred to the command of General George H. Thomas, at Nashville, Tenn. 1864. Sept. 12. Dec. 8.

An incident that occurred here reveals in one respect the character of the man. The weather became unusually cold, the earth being covered with snow and ice; his brigade was at the front and the sentries placed, one of whom, R. M. Smock of Indianapolis, relates: "I saw a man approaching from the direction of the officers' quarters; I halted him, and when he gave the countersign and advanced, I saw it was Colonel Harrison. He had a large can of hot coffee, with which he regaled the sentries in front of his brigade, lest, as he said, 'they should freeze to death.'"

After the battle of Nashville, Harrison was ordered to report to General Sherman at Savannah, Georgia; but having been detained, he was able to join him at Goldsboro, North Carolina. He remained in the service to the end of the war.

After the close of the war, General Harrison returned to the active duties of his profession, having been in 1864 re-elected Supreme Court Reporter. He was not, however, permitted by his political friends to be inactive when questions of a national character were to be dis-

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CHAP. LXIII.

cussed, and in such debates he took part, especially in several Presidential campaigns.

In 1876, General Harrison was Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana, and ran ahead of his ticket, although defeated by a small plurality. He was urged in 1880 to permit his name to come before the people as a candidate for the Presidency, but refused. He also declined an invitation to become a member of the cabinet of President Garfield. He had, meanwhile, in 1881, been elected almost unanimously to the Senate of the United States. At the end of his six years' senatorship he retired once more to the practice of his profession, and while thus in private life was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago. More directly than in 1884, the canvass turned on "tariff reduction," as called for by the Democrats, and "protection to American industries," as the Republican motto. As stated above, Mr. Harrison was elected.

1888. June 21.

The ceremonies pertaining to the inauguration of President Harrison were the most imposing in our history. It is estimated that about 100,000 persons attended from all sections of the Union. The inaugural address, in its views of national affairs, was broad and comprehensive, and expressed in terms clear and terse. In respect to the principal feature of the discussion in the recent canvass, he recognized among the people a "patriotic interest in the preservation and development of domestic industries and defense of our working people against injurious foreign competition." In allusion to the first tariff bill of the Nation enacted by Congress and signed by George Washington,[1] he said: "It is not a departure, but a return, that we have witnessed. . . . If the question [of the tariff] became in any way sectional, it was only because slavery existed in some of the States."

1889. March 4.

1790.

[1] Hist., pp. 575, 576.

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Again: "Surely I do not misinterpret the spirit of the occasion when I assume that the whole body of the people covenant with me and with one another to-day, to support and defend the Constitution and the Union of the States, to yield willing obedience to all the laws, and each to every other citizen, his equal civil and political rights." CHAP. LXXII.

President Harrison sent to the Senate for their confirmation the names of the following gentlemen as members of his cabinet—they were all confirmed within half an hour: James G. Blaine, of Maine, to be Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, Secretary of War; William H. H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; John W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; and Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, Secretary of Agriculture.

The last of our national centennial celebrations—that of the first Inauguration of George Washington—took place in 1889. The Continental Congress, during the session of 1788, after it was known that a sufficient number of the States had voted to ratify the Constitution, enacted that Presidential electors should be chosen on the first Wednesday of January, 1889, that they should cast their votes for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of February, and that the two houses of Congress should meet in New York City, on the first Wednesday of March,—which that year came on the *fourth*.

On March *third*, at sunset, the citizens of New York fired thirteen guns in honor of the Continental Congress, representing the Thirteen Colonies that became independent States on the 4th of July, 1776. That Congress was to expire on the morrow at noon, and the Congress

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CHAP. LXXII. of the new nation[1] was to meet at the same hour. The morning of the fourth was ushered in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. At the hour of noon on that day, only eleven guns were fired; they were in honor of those States that had voted to ratify the Constitution—North Carolina and Rhode Island being the delinquents.

Numerous delays, caused principally by the badness of the roads, the distance and the slow means of traveling, chiefly on horseback, prevented a quorum of either house being present on the fourth of March. The Senate, however, obtained one by April first, the House having been ready for business a day or two previous.

1789. April 5. On Monday, the fifth of April, the joint Convention of the House and Senate proceeded to count the electoral votes for President and Vice-President. It was found that George Washington, of Virginia, was unanimously chosen President, having sixty-nine votes, and that John Adams, of Massachusetts, having thirty-four votes, was chosen Vice-President. Messengers were sent immediately and with all speed to inform these gentlemen of their election—Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, to Mount Vernon, and Sylvanus Bourne to Braintree, Massachusetts. The Vice-President was the first to arrive in New York, having been escorted the entire way by volunteer complimentary guards of honor. He at once took the oath and entered upon his duty as the presiding officer of the Senate, which was already in session. Some days later, Washington also arrived, having come the whole way from Virginia on horseback.

April 30. The Inauguration took place April *thirtieth*. It became the custom thereafter, but without legal authority, to commence Presidential terms at noon on the *fourth day*, instead of on the *first Wednesday*, of March.

The Centennial of the Inauguration of George

[1] Hist., p. 573.

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Washington, as the first President of the United States, was celebrated by the people throughout the Union; though, as was fitting, the main ceremonies, which lasted three days, were carried out in the City of New York, where that Inauguration took place. It was properly decided to imitate, as far as circumstances would permit, the manner in which the original one was conducted.[1] CHAP. LXXII.

Washington's journey from Mount Vernon to New York had been a spontaneous and continuous ovation on the part of the people dwelling along the route, especially in the City of Philadelphia, and in the villages through which he passed. Only two of these demonstrations could be imitated with much appearance of success.

The first attempt was in bringing President Harrison and his escort, such as committees and a few invited guests, from Elizabethport, on the New Jersey shore of Staten Island Sound, twelve miles southwest of New York City. The great New York Bay, upper and lower, was swarming with ships of every description, in number estimated to be between six and seven hundred. The police steamer, the *Patrol*, with a sufficient force on board to preserve order, kept a wide open space through the midst of these ships, and in almost a straight line from Elizabethport to the foot of Wall street, East River, where Washington had landed. Among these ships were eleven National war vessels, with their crowd of sailors and marines; revenue cutters and merchantmen; private yachts, excursion steamers, iron steamboats, river and sound steamers; immense ferry-boats and comparatively small but saucy tugs, flitting here and there, but all under perfect control and in order. The Nation's flag—now for the first time radiant with forty-two stars—was predominant among the gay emblems of corporations and private yachting clubs—the whole appearing like a collection of innumerable miniature rainbows. At the 1889 April 29.

[1] Hist., pp. 572, 573.

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CHAP. LXXII. time appointed, the *Dispatch*, a United States vessel, having on board the Presidential party, started from Elizabethport along the open space. When approaching from the west she was greeted by guns from the war-vessels, and huzzas from the marines and sailors, the latter at a signal instantly manning the yards, while cheers of welcome rang out from the multitudes aboard the numerous other boats and ships.

When the *Dispatch* arrived opposite Wall street, in imitation of the "Thirteen Pilots," a crew of thirteen sea-captains belonging to the Marine Society rowed the barge which carried the President to the pier, where he was welcomed by the Committee, whose Chairman, the venerable ex-Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, made a brief but appropriate address. The procession moved up Wall street to the Equitable Building on Broadway, where a reception and luncheon were had. Meanwhile an interesting group of school-girls was waiting at the City Hall to receive the President, in memory of the greeting given to Washington by young girls of Trenton, N. J., when on his way to New York in 1789. The girls were tastefully dressed in white, and were selected from the Grammar departments of the public schools, while *thirteen* were taken from the senior class of the Normal College. The girls, the flowers, the addresses, the spectators, made a pretty and memorable effect.

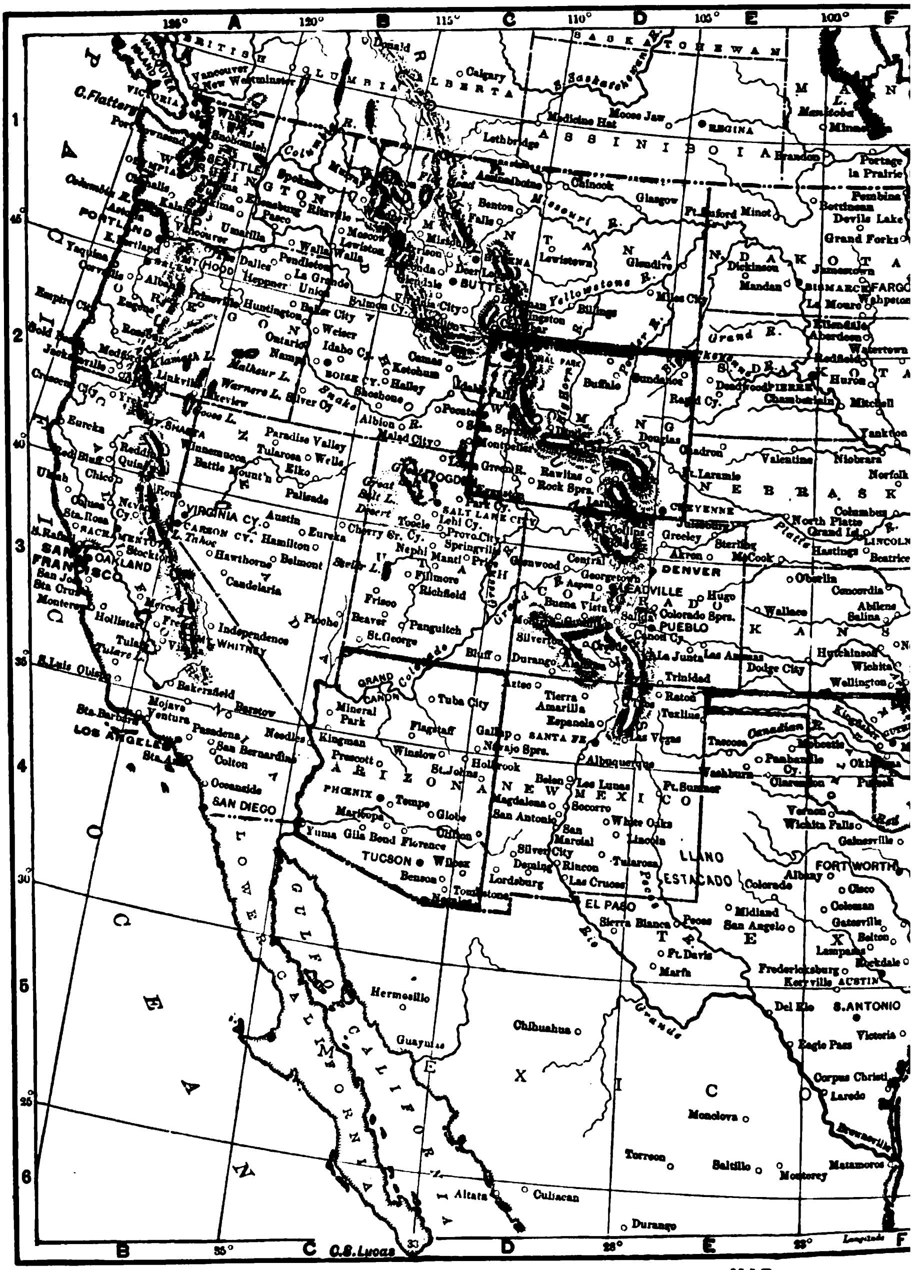
The exercises of the first day were closed by the Inaugural Centennial Ball at the Metropolitan Opera House, in which a number of the descendants of those who took part in the one of 1789 participated.

The second day of the ceremonies was ushered in by religious exercises. At the call of the President's proclamation, services of thanksgivings for the past and prayers for the blessings of God upon the future of the Nation now entering on its second century, were held in the churches throughout the Union at 9 A. M. The

1889. April 30.

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center of attraction in New York was at St. Paul's Church, to which[1] Washington after his inauguration, accompanied by the members of Congress, had gone to return thanks to God and implore His blessing upon the Government just instituted. Bishop Provost, Chaplain of the Senate, had officiated. In the same church President Harrison and the members of his Cabinet who could attend, were present; the services were conducted in the usual form, Bishop Henry C. Potter making an address. President Harrison occupied the pew in which Washington was accustomed to sit—which has always been preserved in its original form. Ex-Presidents Hayes and Cleveland were present, besides numerous other prominent men. CHAP. LXXII. 1889.

The assembly adjourned at the close of the services to meet at the historic place in Wall street, where stands a bronze statue of Washington on the spot where the original inauguration took place. After prayer, addresses were made, the chief orator being Chauncey M. Depew.

At the close of these services President Harrison proceeded to Madison Square, where he was to review the military procession reaching from Wall street to Fifty-sixth street—about four miles. For the accommodation of spectators—of which, all told, there were perhaps a million, as every available point for seeing was occupied—temporary platforms or seats were prepared in many places on the streets along the route, in front of public buildings and parks. The private residences on the line of march were elaborately decorated. This parade of citizen-soldiers was the greatest thus far in our history. They came from twenty-three States, extending from Maine to Louisiana, and all along the Atlantic slope; there were present also twenty-nine Governors of States, who were mostly accompanied by their staffs. The whole number of troops exceeded fifty thousand. The exer-

[1] Hist., p. 573.

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CHAP. LXXII. cises of the second day closed with an Inauguration Centennial Banquet.

1889. May 1. The enthusiasm of the people continued unabated, and they entered into the processions of the third day with a zest equal to that of the two previous. The last day in truth, represented causes that came home to them individually, more than the displays of the other two, as it was an exhibition in favor of the educational and industrial interests of the Nation; showing the great advancement made during the first century of the Nation's life, in the paths of useful labor, of domestic peace and material progress in a Christianized civilization. The detail is too extensive for us to enter upon in this connection. The participants in the parade were drawn from the city and its immediate vicinity, including students of Columbia College, of the New York City College and of the University of New York; followed by boys, pupils in the public schools, 4,000 strong; and they, by the various trade and industrial representations. Applications had been received by the Committee, from civic, commercial and industrial societies—foreign-born and native alike, all of which designated the number belonging to each who wished to participate in the processions, the whole number amounting to 110,000; but the Committee was compelled to limit the number pro rata, so that only 75,000 could be in line.

This celebration closed the first hundred years of the Nation's life and history, and, under wonderfully changed circumstances, it has entered upon its second century.

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CHAPTER LXXIII.

1789 AND 1889—THE CONTRAST.

The Territory of the Union in 1789 and in 1889.—Its Comparison with Europe.—The Diversified Climate.—The Essential Productions.—Crude Manufactures and Trade.—The Two National Debts.—The Means of Paying.—Condition of the Churches in 1789 and in 1889.—Zeal and Benevolent Institutions.—Theological Discussions.—The Effects Produced.—The Anti-Slavery Agitation.—Commerce, Agriculture, Invention.—Immigration.—Education.—Suffrage.—Literature.—Language.

In closing the history of the first hundred years of the Nation's life, it will interest the intelligent reader to compare the salient points of difference in the conditions under which it began its first century, and those under which it enters upon its second.

The territory of the United States consisted in 1789 of a comparatively narrow strip lying along the Atlantic slope, extending from the eastern boundary of Maine to the northern line of Florida. Sometime before and during the French and Indian war, large numbers of adventurous spirits threaded their way westward over the Alleghany Mountains into the regions beyond. At the termination of that war a second migration, consisting of many thousands, began crossing over by the famous Braddock[1] road into Western Pennsylvania, and there founded settlements in the fertile valley of the Monongahela. At the same time similar migrations were on

1749 to 1763.

[1] Hist., pp. 280, 585.

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CHAP. LXXIII. 1778.

their way from the same State, along the more northern road cut by General Forbes, to the vicinity of the site of the present City of Pittsburg. Afterward, equally adventurous and bold-hearted emigrants passed over from Virginia and North Carolina, through the south middle portion of the same mountains, and under great difficulties established homes for their families within the "dark and bloody ground" now known as Kentucky.[1] These were the only settlements of that day outlying the Atlantic slope.

The opening of the second century in this respect is in marked contrast. It finds the Nation occupying a vast territory, extending east and west from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific; and north and south from the Florida Keys, the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the line of the Rio Grande, and thence to and along the Pacific Ocean, to the 49th parallel of latitude on the northwest, and a line drawn through the middle of the Great Lakes, and on the northeast to the 47th parallel. A further comparison may aid the American people to appreciate more fully their goodly heritage. The domain of the United States, excluding Alaska, is estimated to lack only a few hundred thousand square miles of being as large as all Europe. The territory of Europe extends from the Straits of Gibraltar to four degrees beyond the Arctic Circle; along this circle, on both sides, is a vast barren waste, because of the rigidly cold climate. On the other hand, the territory of the United States lies wholly within the choicest portion of the North Temperate Zone, as it extends from the 49th parallel down to within half a degree of the Tropic of Cancer; nor is there an acre of soil within its boundaries, except on the high mountains, that is unavailable because of the climate for pasturage or cultivation.

The contrast with Europe is, perhaps, still more re-

[1] Hist., p. 507.

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markable in regard to climate and rainfall, as the United States appear to derive more benefit from the Atlantic and Pacific *equatorial currents* than both Asia and Europe combined. The Atlantic current furnishes the Gulf Stream, which brings the blessings of moisture and warmth to Western Europe; but it also furnishes what is equally important—a copious rainfall to our great Mississippi Valley.[1] The Pacific equatorial current is the origin of the Japan current—three times the size of the Gulf Stream, and four degrees warmer—which causes the mild climate and moisture of our Pacific and Northwestern States, away up to Alaska.[2] The influence of this warm current, which expands all over the surface of the North Pacific, extends along the entire southern portion of Alaska, and to the south down the coast beyond San Francisco. The winds from off it are loaded with warmth and moisture, and penetrate inland about one thousand miles, passing over Oregon and Washington and through the gaps of the Cascade and the Rocky Mountain ranges, until they meet and mingle with the western flank of the vapor-loaded winds from the Atlantic equatorial current. The latter are deflected by the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico, and flow north toward the pole to restore the equilibrium of the atmosphere. CHAP. LXXIII.

The extent of territory occupied by the United States, and the consequent diversity of climate, render the American people virtually independent of the rest of the world for the necessaries of life, such as clothing and substantial food of all kinds, the only exceptions being tea and coffee, chocolate, and a few spices from the tropics, that have in time become essential to the comfort of the people, and as delicacies for the table. We are also dependent, for the most part, on foreign lands for raw silk and india-rubber. Thus, the North and North-middle

[1] Natural Resources of the U. S.; J. H. Patton; pp. 351–360; 364.
[2] Nat. Resources, pp. 369–377.

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CHAP. LXXIII. produce the cereals and orchard fruits, while the South-middle furnishes tobacco and cotton, and the extreme southern portion sugar-cane, rice and sub-tropical fruits. It is interesting to know that the mineral wealth of the United States, in its diversified forms, much transcends in importance all that is in the world beside, thus far discovered.[1]

In 1789 the only means of transportation within the Union was by animal power, such as by pack-horses over the Alleghanies, or traveling on horseback or by coach, while freight was carried in wagons drawn by horses or oxen; by sailing vessels along the Atlantic coast, or in scows or flatboats on the rivers. The great National road, constructed by the general Government across the Alleghanies, from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio
1820. River, was finished to that point in 1820. Thirty-six years after the first inauguration of Washington, the Erie Canal, made by the State of New York, was opened.
1825. It united at Albany the Great Lakes with the Hudson River, and through that with the Atlantic in New York harbor. In after years a number of other canals were constructed in different parts of the Union, nearly all of which have been superseded by railways.

1827. Two years after the uniting of the lakes with the Atlantic, was made the first railway in the Union; it was in Massachusetts, and was designed to transport granite from Quincy to the seashore. Five years later,[2] our first locomotive began running on the Hudson and Mohawk
1832. Railroad. The building of such roads proceeded very rapidly, and in 1835 there were in the United States 1,098 miles of railways; but in passing over fifty-four years, we find that in 1889 they had increased to 163,362. Of the rails used on these roads about seventy-five per cent are, at this writing, made of steel, which is fast superseding those made of iron,—the introduction of an Ameri-

[1] Nat. Resources of the U. S. [2] Hist., p. 700.

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can-improved Bessemer process having rendered steel-making both easy and cheap.

Other items in this connection are worthy the attention of the reader. On the through lines of railways from the Atlantic slope across the Alleghanies, the average of the charge for freight in 1865 was 2.9 cents per ton per mile; in 1889 it was 0.609 cents. On the Western and Southwestern roads the average charge for the same in 1865 was 3.642 cents; in 1889 it was 0.934 cents. The combined average rate of the same on these two divisions of roads in 1865 was 3.271 cents, while the average rate of the same in 1889 was 0.771 cents. The average rate per mile for passengers on these roads in 1889 was 2.246 cents. There was in the United States in 1889 for every 19.34 square miles of surface one mile of railroad; and one mile of the same to every 418 of the inhabitants. The gross value of these railways in 1889 was $20,957,668,032.[1] What will all these items be in 1989?

We of to-day, with abundance of comforts and home facilities for supplying our wants, have only a very imperfect conception of the difficulties, financial and otherwise, that obtruded themselves upon our fathers, when they were entering upon the first century of our national existence. The people, as individuals, were poor indeed, and so was the new government itself. The separate States and the Continental Congress were both involved in debts contracted in the war for independence. These debts of the States, as a matter of national policy, were assumed by the general government, but that was a transference made for convenience only, since the debts thus consolidated still remained and had to be paid.

The people, in a comparatively crude way, had made for themselves some domestic articles of prime necessity; when colonists they had been for the most part depen-

[1] Poor's R.R. Manual.

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CHAP. LXIII. dent for these upon the motherland, while during the eight years of actual war for independence, most of their able-bodied men being in the army, those at home manufactured articles that pertained to carrying on the war, rather than those for domestic use in times of peace. Their trade among themselves (and they had none outside worth mentioning) finally degenerated into mere barter, because during the six years immediately after the conclusion of peace, when their sea-ports were thrown open for commerce, and before the inauguration of Washington, England, under her system of "perfectly free-trade, swept from the country every dollar and every piece of gold."[1]

In addition to this evil, rivalry between the States bordering on the ocean often led them to impose, each for itself, different rates of duties on the same class of merchandise, when brought into their respective ports, the object of each one being to secure the foreign trade as much as possible.

The whole people had also—in contrast with the present time—to enter upon a sort of apprenticeship, in order to learn how to make for themselves the best articles for domestic use. England had hitherto supplied these, and at her own prices. The contrast between the amount of manufacturing in that day and what it is at present is amazing.

The debt of the United States at the commencement of the first century[2] was, in proportion to each one of the population, larger, and in addition was far more burdensome for the people to pay than their debt on entering upon their second century, when their facilities for paying it are so much superior. The national debt in 1791 was $75,463,476; the similar one on December 31, 1890, was $873,435,939.50, less the cash in the U. S. Treasury. In 1791

[1] Bolles' Financial Hist. of the U. S., p. 437.
[2] Hist., p. 575.

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the debt was about *nineteen* dollars per each man, woman and child of the population. In 1901, estimating the population to be seventy-eight millions, the national debt was—including all immatured bonds and outstanding notes, fractional currency and certificates—$986,550,547. CHAP. LXXIII.

Thus far the American people have merited the honor of being characterized as "the only debt-paying nation." We cannot go into details; let a mere glance at their varied resources accounting for this, suffice. Notice the vast mineral wealth of all kinds discovered during the first century, within the Union; the abundant facilities for internal and foreign trade; the agricultural and pastural resources; the numberless inventions that promote mechanical industries: all these, in their respective capacities, produce wealth, and thus indirectly afford funds for paying the national debt.

There are, however, other considerations worthy of note in a nation's life than those of mere material progress. The contrast in the facilities for extending the truths of Christianity and their civilizing influence throughout the land, and for promoting education among the people of all classes, is fully as striking as any other feature of this comparison. We have seen that immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, the several denominations of Christians took measures to frame their systems of Church government in such manner as to be consistent with that of the Nation.[1] The remarkable moral and educational results produced during the first century, though in the face of numerous difficulties, have amply vindicated this. Within that hundred years, especially in the latter half, all these denominations have manifested unusual zeal in preaching the gospel in destitute portions of the Union, and in endeavoring to raise the whole people by means of education to a higher plane of general intelligence, thus preparing them to enter upon their

[1] Hist., pp. 567–570.

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CHAP. LXXIII.

second century almost infinitely better equipped than were their fathers for a continual progress in all that is great and noble.

The leading minds in these denominations founded benevolent associations to aid in the cause, such as Bible, Tract, Sunday School, Home Missionary, and other societies.[1] Meanwhile the private members of the churches nobly furnished the necessary financial means; nor were they lacking in individual efforts in their respective spheres of influence. This spirit also influenced wealthy men to recognize their own responsibility, and in consequence, within the period mentioned, they have furnished millions on millions for purposes of education. The church members at the beginning of the first century, as well as the rest of the people, were poor in worldly affairs; at the beginning of the second, they are comparatively rich, and in addition they have, prepared to their hand, these various benevolent associations and societies, which the wisdom of the first century has devised, and which appliances can be now utilized to the best advantage.

There is still another contrast. The commencement of the first century saw but little harmony or sympathy between the various religious denominations, but, on the contrary, antagonisms, especially between the two that were in union with the State[2] and those others that were not, owing to the harsh treatment the latter had so long endured from the former. The remembrance of these wrongs passed over from colonial times, and it took at least one generation for that malign influence to thoroughly pass away, which, during the first third of the century, very much trammeled the legitimate works of the churches.

[1] Hist., pp. 636, 656.

[2] The Congregational in New England and the Episcopal in some of the Middle and the Southern Colonies. Hist., p. 567.

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The above period was succeeded by another, lasting nearly forty years, characterized by an unusual mental activity in respect to theological opinions, which were discussed extensively throughout the Northern and Eastern States. These discussions took a wide range amid the respective doctrines of the churches, such as the scriptural authority for certain forms in rites and ceremonies, Church policy, the mode of ordaining the ministry, Biblical interpretation, and, in general, other leading doctrines of the various denominations. The religious newspapers and periodicals engaged in this work, and even a portion of the secular press, opened their columns to the disputants and treated the matter editorially.

These contests were mainly on points of belief that in themselves were non-essential, while at the same time there prevailed among these evangelical disputants a remarkable unanimity in accepting the essential truths of the gospel. The latter phase of the subject induced a sentiment of charity that continually grew in strength, until all parties tacitly acquiesced in each denomination in its own way preaching the word and administering the rites of the Church, and thus promoting the cause so dear to the hearts of all. In consequence of these mutual concessions, there came gradually into existence, toward the end of the second period mentioned, an era of good feeling among the churches, which prevails, more than ever before, in the entire Christian community. This was one of the most important legacies that the churches of the first century left to those of the second. There was, however, one controversy—the anti-slavery agitation—that continued unchanged among the churches in its earnestness to the very last, even until the war for the preservation of the Union incidentally blotted out its exciting career forever.

At present, however, we see the churches of the United States entering upon their second century, never in their

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CHAP. LXXIII.

history so free from discordant conflicts, nor so abundant in wealth, in zeal and in the facilities for concentrated effort in their appropriate work, which in its greatness has never before been paralleled in the Union.

In closing this chapter, it is proper to notice the evidence of the deep underlying reverence that has always characterized the American people—especially those who are descendants of the original colonists—for the truths of Christianity. This may account for the fact that no special movement in opposition to the latter's essential and leading doctrines has ever originated in the United States.

In the early years of the Nation's century, there prevailed, to a very limited extent, a form of infidelity derived from the French revolutionists. Its views or arguments were presented, however, in a tone peculiarly low and vulgar, so that what influence it had among the people at large, dwindled away in less than a generation.

The modes of criticism tending to invalidate the authority of the Bible as the inspired Word of God, were introduced from Germany. In the same manner, the theories that would ignore God in His own grand law of evolution, or the gradual development or improvement in the order of nature, whether animal or vegetable, and likewise, the theory that "neither denies nor affirms God, but puts Him on one side," known as agnosticism, are both exotics—they having been transplanted hither from the British Isles. In the same connection, it may be said concerning the writing of books of a decided immoral tendency, that comparatively very few, as far as we know, are the direct product of American authors.

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On the pages following have been grouped statements concerning the progress made by the American People during their first century in various elements of civilization.

PROGRESS OF A CENTURY.

1890.

This Government, founded on the recognition of the civil and religious rights of man, may be regarded as an experiment in process of trial, but with the highest hopes of success. It is natural that under such a Government the people should make progress in literature, in science, and in those mechanical arts and inventions that promote the comfort and advancement of mankind.

Let us take a rapid glance at the progress made by this youthful nation in the short life of one hundred years. Since the Declaration of Independence the number of inhabitants, then estimated at three millions, has increased more than sixteen-fold; and since the first census (1790) the number has increased from 3,929,214 to 62,480,540 — sixteen-fold. In the same period foreign commerce has increased in value from twenty to fifteen hundred million dollars, while the internal trade has reached twenty-five thousand millions. In connection with this has been a steady increase in the facilities of communication and transport, first by means of steamboats, which now abound upon our rivers and great lakes; by means of canals connecting the lakes and the great valley of the Mississippi with the Atlantic, and railroads extending to all parts of the land, and which have increased to an aggregate length of 163,362 miles, in operation or in process of construction, at an expense of nearly twenty-one thousand million dollars.

1790 to 1890.

1809.

1827.

1889.

A steady progress has been made in agriculture, in which a greater number are engaged than in any other employment, as farmers in the Northern and planters in the Southern States. As an agricultural product, Indian

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corn stands first in value, eight hundred and four million dollars; wheat, five hundred and seventy-four; hay, four
1880. hundred and thirty, and cotton about two hundred and seventy millions, and so on through the list of crops; while the cattle numbered twenty-eight million, and the swine fifty-five. The products of the cotton and woollen manufacturers amounted respectively to one hundred and eighty-eight, and one hundred and sixty-four million dollars.

The inventive genius of the people has been active in securing the powers of nature in adding to the comforts of human life. In implements for cultivating the soil there have been innumerable improvements, from the simple hoe to the steam plough; and from the primitive sickle and scythe to the reaping and mowing machine. As striking have been the improvements in the steam engine; in ship-building, from the swift sailing clipper to the sharp-prowed ocean steamer—copied now by England's steam marine; and in printing-presses, by means of one —Hoe's—ninety thousand impressions can be taken in an hour. The sewing machine, that friend of woman, is a purely American invention, and so is that not less useful machine, the cotton gin. Fifteen thousand patents have been taken out in a single year at Washington.

1881. We have seen the character of the first settlers of this land; their intelligence, their zeal in founding institutions imbued with the spirit of civil and religious liberty. The time came to welcome another immigration. In 1819 Congress first directed the collectors of ports to take cog-
1819. nizance of the foreigners who arrived in the country, and make returns of the same to the Secretary of State. That immigration, subject to great fluctuations, in one
1854. year amounted to three hundred and seventy-two thousand. Of these the majority had no higher skill than to engage in the simplest forms of manual labor. They aided immensely in the development of the country; for

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none but the energetic emigrate to better their condition, and they bring with them that element of character so valuable. Without their toil our canals would never have been dug, nor our railroads built, nor the improvements in our towns and cities. They have received the recompense of their daily labor, yet, as a Nation, we acknowledge to them our obligations.

Since then, especially during the three last decades, the character of immigrants from beyond the Atlantic has materially changed. As the manufacturing industries of the country developed its resources the inducement for skilled labor was greatly increased, and a much greater proportion of skilful mechanics have come among us to become valued citizens, and train their children in our common schools to be Americans. The public lands, as offered by the Homestead Bill, have brought an immense number who have settled upon them as industrious, economical and thrifty farmers, especially in the West and Northwest. Intelligent merchants from abroad have aided in extending our commerce, and also an increasing number of educated men have found here a home and a field of usefulness, both as lawyers and physicians, and as ministers of the Gospel and professors in our colleges, and teachers of our youth. The whole number of immigrants since 1820 now amounts to about fourteen millions.

1863, Jan. 1.

1890.

The cheap lands of the great West offered inducements to the enterprising in the older States to migrate, and while they leveled the forests or brought the prairies under cultivation, the industry of the States they had left was stimulated, and, by means of manufactures and commerce, they supplied the wants of those who had gone West, and were themselves benefited in return by exchanging the product of their mills and workshops for cheaper food brought from the great valley.

As reported by the Secretary of the Interior, it appears that under that beneficent measure the Homestead

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CHAP. LXXIII. 1889. Bill, during the twenty-five years it has been in operation, an area equal that of New England, the Middle States and West Virginia, has been taken up and occupied as farms by one million forty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six families or households, which on an average of five persons to each, aggregates five million two hundred and eight thousand,—more than the population of the State of New York by the census of 1880. The recent yearly average amount of area settled under this bill is about equal that of the States of Vermont and Rhode Island combined, while the annual average increase of households has been more than sixty thousand. In addition nearly one-third as much area has been yearly sold by the National Government to settlers, who prefer to purchase farms in certain localities, especially along railroads; besides the amount sold by railway corporations from lands granted them by the Government in aid of the construction of such roads. The combination of the three systems speedily forms settlements sufficiently populated to sustain churches and schools—so dear to the American heart.

The youth of the land have not been forgotten, public schools having their origin in Massachusetts, have become the heritage of *all* the States.[1] At convenient points Congress has set apart a liberal portion of the public lands for the special support of common schools in the new States and territories. The older States, meanwhile, have been making laudable exertions to increase their school funds. The number of pupils in academies, and in the public and private schools, is estimated at more than eight millions; and in colleges, theological seminaries, medical and law schools, the students number about eighty thousand.

The general progress of secular education, as well as in religious instruction, prepared the way for a new form of usefulness; the young men of the Nation were induced

[1] Hist. 123, 320.

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as a class to make greater exertions than heretofore in the cause of morality, and to exert more influence by using their united strength. The first Young Men's Christian Association in the Union was organized in Boston; the second in New York City, and within a year ten similar ones were formed in other cities; and now there are in the Union 1,170 Associations having a membership of 195,456. These Associations, being an outgrowth of this age of the church, have, especially in the cities, ample fields for work in connection with church organizations. The members labor in Sabbath and mission schools; have libraries and reading-rooms—resorts for young men engaged in business—have Bible classes for their own members and for others; maintain literary classes as well as rooms for innocent amusements, and over all throw a Christian influence. In many of the cities Associations of Christian Young Women have been formed on the same principle, to promote a similar work of benevolence among young persons of their own sex.

CHAP. LXXIII. 1851, Dec. 9. 1852, 1889.

Of two impediments to a universal education, one—slavery—has disappeared; and the other is diminishing rapidly, as the numerous immigrants, especially from Northern Europe and Germany, are superior in respect to their education to those of former times. *If no young man, when becoming of age, was permitted to vote unless he could read and write, we should have in less than a score of years a Nation in which there would scarcely be an illiterate voter.* In these days of free schools, the young man who has not sufficient mental power to learn to read and write should be set aside on the score of imbecility; and if he has the power and not the will much more is he derelict of duty, and unworthy to exercise the privilege

The same principles apply to Foreigners, who have ample time in the five years before they can become naturalized, to thus qualify themselves by learning to read

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CHAP. LXXIII. 1890.

and write; and if they neglect to perform that duty, let them be disfranchised as well as the native-born.

In no respect has the mental energy of the Nation manifested itself so much as in the encouragement given to the public press. The common schools taught the youth to read; the innate desire of acquiring knowledge was fostered; and the fascinating newspaper, as it statedly enters the domestic circle, reflects the world and records the progress of the age. By this means the most retired can be brought into sympathy with the world, in its yearnings after excellence, peace, and happiness.

At the commencement of the Revolution there were but thirty-five newspapers, and they of a very limited circulation; now, of all classes, are more than fifteen thousand. The population since that time has increased eighteen-fold, and the newspapers more than four-hundred-fold. Educated and accomplished minds discuss in their columns the important questions of the time, and upon these questions the Nation acts; thence they pass into history. If the issues of the press are kept pure, the blessing in all its greatness far transcends mortal ken. Public opinion has been termed a tyrant; but it is a tyrant that, if vicious, can be made virtuous—can be reformed if not dethroned. Let the virtue and the intelligence of the Nation see to it that it is a righteous tyrant, and submission to its iron rule will become a blessing.

In intimate connection with this intellectual progress is the increase of public libraries, found in so many of our cities. There are now more than ten thousand, and they contain about nine million volumes. These storehouses of knowledge are as diversified as the wants of the people. Among them are found the Sunday-school libraries, each with its few hundred volumes; the social or circulating libraries, in almost every village or large town, and the numerous private as well as public libraries, containing much of the current literature of the day. An

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important feature was introduced at the formation of the public library in New York City bearing the name of its founder, John Jacob Astor, and since increased by his son. Other great cities have also their fine public libraries—notably a very superior one in Boston, and the art of cataloguing and making available the treasures of such collections has made the position of librarian almost a profession. CHAP. LXXIII. 1890.

In the departments of human knowledge and literature we have names that are held in honor wherever the English language is read: in History, Prescott, Bancroft, Hildreth, and Motley; in Systematic Theology, Dr. Timothy Dwight, whose works have had a great influence in this country and in England, and Professor Charles Hodge; in Mental Philosophy, Jonathan Edwards; in Biblical Literature, Edward Robinson; in Poetry, Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier; in Light Literature, Irving, Cooper, and Hawthorne; in Lexicography, Noah Webster; in Mathematics, Bowditch—many other eminent names might be added.

In art we have those who have exhibited evidence of genius that may yet give the Nation a name honored among those eminent in painting and sculpture. Her sons have not been surrounded by models from great masters to awaken in early life the slumbering genius, nor have they been encouraged by a traditionary reverence among the people for such manifestations of talent. It has been in the face of these disadvantages that they have reached their present high position, not by passing through a training laborious and preparatory, but almost at a bound.

We rejoice to see the great body of the people associating themselves for purposes of doing good or for self-improvement. There are in the land many religious and benevolent associations. Of the latter class is the Temperance movement, promoted at first greatly by the

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eloquence of Dr. Lyman Beecher, and which has had an immense influence for good upon the nation. The moral phase of the subject has taken deep hold of the minds and conscience of the people, and in the end the cause must prevail. There is also no more cheering sign of the times than that of the people themselves becoming more and more acquainted with their civil rights and duties, and in their demanding virtue and political integrity in those who serve them in a public capacity, and, when there is a dereliction of duty, their promptly appealing to the ballot-box.

Governments had hitherto interfered more or less with the liberty of conscience. They assumed that in some way—though indefinable—they were responsible for the salvation of the souls of their subjects. Free inquiry and a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, and the separation of Church and State, shifted that responsibility to the individual himself, and in consequence it became his recognized duty to support schools of learning and sustain religious institutions. This change in the minds of the people commenced in the great awakening[1] 1735. under Jonathan Edwards, and its influence had full effect in the separation of Church and State after the Revolution.[2] To this principle of individual responsibility may be traced the voluntary support and the existence of the various benevolent operations of our own day, in which all the religious denominations participate. These in their efforts are not limited to the destitute portions of our own country, but in many foreign lands may be found the American missionary, a devoted teacher of Christianity and its humanizing civilization, supported and encouraged by the enlightened benevolence of his own countrymen. The same principle produces fruits in founding asylums for the purpose of relieving human suffering and distress, or smoothing the pathway of the

[1] Hist. p. 267. [2] Hist. p. 569.

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unfortunate. The men of wealth in our day more fully appreciate their responsibility, and the mental energy exercised in its accumulation has more than in former times been consecrated to doing good. Millions have thus been given by individuals to found or aid institutions of learning, that the youth may be secured to virtue and intelligence—a blessed influence that will increase in power from age to age.

We inherit the English language and its glorious associations—the language of a free Gospel, free speech, and a free press. Its literature, imbued with the principles of liberty, civil and religious, and of correct morals, belongs to us. We claim the worthies of the Mother-country, whose writings have done so much to promote sound morality, with no less gratitude and pride than we do those of our own land. The commerce of the world is virtually in the hands of those speaking the English language. On the coasts of Asia, of Africa, in Australia, in the isles of the Pacific it has taken foothold—may it be the means of disseminating truth and carrying to the ends of the earth the blessings of Christianity.

The ultimate success of this Government and the stability of its institutions, its progress in all that can make a nation honored, depend upon its adherence to the principles of truth and righteousness. Let the part we are to perform in the world be not the subjugation of others to our sway by physical force, but the noble destiny to subdue by the influence and the diffusion of a Christianized civilization.

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CHAPTER LXXIV.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION RESUMED.

American characteristics.—Retarding influences.—Two governments to support.—Indirect and direct taxation.—The McKinley Bill.—Lands reclaimed.—Value of the Dollar.—The Lottery.—The Apportionment.—Debts paid.—Hours of Labor.—Gift to the Exposition.—Revival of Industries.—Two political platforms.

CHAP. LXXIV. 1890.

THE entrance upon the Second Century of the Nation's life is an important era in its history. The reader will appreciate what has been recorded in the foregoing chapter.

Humanly speaking, the now recognized characteristics of the American people, owing to the influences of which they are an outgrowth, will most likely be during the second century a prolongation of those of the first. These traits of character will be enhanced in their moral tone and in a corresponding progress in the practical affairs of domestic life, because of the continuous advance of the people at large to higher and higher planes of education and general intelligence. In these respects a retrograde movement was unknown in the first century, much less may it be looked for in the second.

The first hundred years of the Nation had, moreover, quite a number of stirring events and retarding influences that required wise statesmanship to control and adjust. The industrial interests of the people and their progress in morals were greatly hindered by troubles with the Indians and by three wars—that with England 1812–1815), the Mexican (1846–1848), and the

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Civil War (1861–1865). The whole time engaged in actual hostilities in these wars was about nine years, while the disturbing unrest preceding them, and the time of almost equal disquiet that followed in the readjustments of the affairs of the Nation and those of the people themselves was about the same number of years —in all, eighteen.

The American people have two systems of government to support—the National and those of the several States; they have also two independent sources of revenue whence to derive the requisite funds. The construction of two governments, yet united as one, is different from any others in the world, and our having two distinct sources of revenue, which are not permitted to trench upon one another, is equally peculiar.

The National government derives its income from indirect taxation, in the form of import duties levied on property brought into the Union for sale from foreign lands. The term *indirect tax* is designed to express the fact that it is optional with the people whether they pay it or not; that is, by purchasing or not purchasing the merchandise thus taxed. The governments of the States are supported by direct taxation on landed and other property as their respective authorities ordain. The foresight of the framers of the United States Constitution (1787) gave Congress the authority in cases when an unusual amount of funds were required to levy on *home* property a direct tax, known as Internal Revenue, to be repealed when the necessity for it is removed. The collection of the *direct* taxes of the States and also that of Federal Internal Revenue is enforced by law.

The funds derived from import duties are used for no other purpose than to defray the expenses of the national government. Owing to this fact, financial measures come before Congress almost every session, because

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the progress of the industrial and commercial interests of the country often call for a modification of some items of the tariff. Again, sometimes changed conditions in the industries of the countries with which we have commercial intercourse have influence also on the same lines. For the above reasons the revision of the tariff became an important item of legislation in Mr. Harrison's administration, as the tariff of July 1, 1883, the most judicious one up to that time, had not been revised for seven years, though attempts had been made to do so during the four years of Mr. Cleveland's first administration. (*See pp. 1122–1124.*)

The required revision of the tariff of 1883 was now entered upon and the outcome was the so-called McKinley Bill, thus named from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who presented it in the Congress—William McKinley of Ohio. In this revision the few objectionable features of the tariff of 1883 were eliminated, as they had in some respects retarded the industrial progress of the country. The tariff now enacted
1890. was up to that time the most comprehensive and symmetrical in its various provisions, on the basis of encouraging the material interests of every portion of the country, the gratifying result being an unusual increase in all our industries—mechanical, agricultural and commercial. This universal progress culminated in 1892—by far the most prosperous year in every respect that the American people had ever enjoyed.

A bill was passed (1890) which claimed, as forfeited to the United States, lands which had been granted by a previous Congress to corporations on well-defined conditions in aid of the construction of certain railroads; some of these roads had either not even been entered upon, or not completed according to the contract. This act restored to the public domain, it is estimated, about 12,500 square miles of territory. Portions of these lands

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in the meantime had been taken up and occupied in good faith by a large number of settlers. Provision was made in the bill by which the Secretary of the Interior was directed to secure to these settlers, under the Homestead Law, their rights to the farms which they occupied. A just and proper provision was also made that, when these lands should come into the market, no one could purchase more than 320 acres in one block. This law was designed to prevent combinations of capitalists securing large districts of land which might be held for speculative purposes, to the great detriment of genuine settlers of more limited means.

In 1890 two States, Idaho and Wyoming, were admitted to the Union. In the case of Wyoming it was enacted that: "Exclusive legislation over the Yellowstone National Park shall be exercised by the United States, which shall have exclusive control and jurisdiction over the same, except that civil and criminal processes, lawfully signed by the State of Wyoming, may be served within the Park."

It was enacted that: "from and after the date of the passage of this act the unit of value in the United States shall be the dollar, and the same may be coined of 412½ grains of standard silver, or of 25.8 grains of standard gold; and the said coins shall be legal tender for all debts, public and private." 1890. July 1.

For many years a fraudulent concern known as the Louisiana Lottery, as its headquarters were in that State, had hitherto evaded the State laws against that class of swindlers. A law, minute in detail and so framed as to cover every loophole of escape, including that of sending deceptive advertisements through the mails, passed both Houses of Congress almost unanimously. The dread of the penalties for violating this law had the effect of driving out of existence that blatant form of swindling.

The Apportionment Bill of the Second Session of the

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CHAP. LXXIV. Fifty-first Congress provided that after March 3, 1893, the number of the members of the House of Representatives should be 357; according to the census of 1890, each member had 173,901 constituents. (Each member of the House of Representatives in 1789 had 30,000 constituents.)

Two Acts of Congress, March 2 and 3, 1891, directed the Secretary of the Treasury to pay certain debts that had been neglected for years. One was to refund to the loyal States about $13,000,000, that being the amount of a direct tax paid by them to aid the Government during the war to save the Union. The other was known as the "French Spoliation Claims," which had been due for a number of years—$1,304,095.

1890. July 14. In another law, the Secretary of the Treasury was directed "to purchase silver bullion each month to the amount of 4,500,000 ounces of legal fineness, or as much thereof as may be offered at the market price." The Secretary was also directed "to issue in payment for such purchase Treasury notes of the United States, in value not less than one dollar nor more than one thousand." These Treasury notes passed into general circulation, thus, if needed, relieving the money market. They were redeemable on demand in coin, and could be reissued. The Secretary was also directed to coin each month 2,000,000 ounces of this silver bullion into standard silver dollars.

The Harrison administration paid $365,493,170 of the national debt, and thus saved an annual interest of more than $11,000,000. The latter was done as a matter of business, as it was found cheaper for the Government to buy certain bonds that were not yet due, and pay the premium on them, than to let them remain unpaid and draw interest. The Administration also left in the Treasury $85,000,000 on March 4, 1893.

The Fifty-second Congress passed a law restricting to

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eight hours the working-day of all the laborers and mechanics employed by the Government of the United States; and also providing that every officer or contractor who shall intentionally violate this law shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. CHAP. LXXIV. 1892. Aug. 1.

In order to aid in defraying the cost of completing in a suitable manner the work of preparation for inaugurating the World's Columbian Exposition (at Chicago, 1893), Congress ordained that there should be coined at the mints of the United States silver half-dollars of the legal weight and fineness, not to exceed five million pieces, to be known as the Columbian half-dollar, because they were coined in commemoration of that Exposition. These half-dollars soon after became much enhanced in value as souvenirs of the Exposition. Congress also directed the Secretary of the Treasury to have prepared fifty thousand bronze medals with appropriate emblems, celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. 1892. Aug. 5.

As already stated, owing to the influence of the McKinley Bill—approved October 6, 1890—the various industries of the entire country began to advance rapidly. We will illustrate on only one line, that of imports and exports. According to the records of the United States Treasury, on June 30, 1891, the balance of trade against us was $435,386; in contrast, on June 30, 1892, the balance of trade in our favor was $201,875,686. That is, the value of our exports was to that amount greater than the value of our imports.

The election of a President was now impending, and the political parties used the ordinary measures in making their nominations. The Republican National Convention met in Minneapolis, June 7, 1892. After the preliminary measures were gone through, on the 10th the Convention nominated President Harrison for a second term, on the first ballot; then Mr. Whitelaw

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Reid of New York for the Vice-presidency, by a unanimous vote.

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, June 22, 1892, and on the first ballot nominated Grover Cleveland of New York for the Presidency. A ballot was taken for the Vice-presidency, when Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois received a plurality of the votes, and on the second ballot was unanimously chosen.

The platforms of the two parties viewed the affairs of the Nation from different standpoints. The Republican recognized the great progress the industries of the Nation were making under the general principle and policy then in vogue. The Democratic platform viewed with alarm the general policy and measures of their rival, especially as to the high protective tariff and the effect of the silver-purchase law, and ignored completely the then present great industrial progress of the whole land. The Republican platform said: "We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality." The Democratic said: "We are opposed to all sumptuary laws as an interference with the individual rights of the citizen."

The Convention of the People's Party met in Omaha, July 2, 1892, and nominated for the Presidency James B. Weaver of Iowa, and for the Vice-presidency James G. Field of Virginia.

The Prohibition Convention met in Cincinnati, June 29, 1892, and nominated for the office of President John Bidwell of California, and for that of the Vice-president the Rev. Dr. J. B. Cranfell of Texas.

In the election, held on November 8, 1892, ex-President Grover Cleveland was elected President.

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CHAPTER LXXV.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

The Disappointments.—The Unrest; precautions taken.—The Inaugural.—Tariff Reform proposed.—The Extra Session.—The Repeal of Silver Law.—The Wilson-Gorman Bill.—President refuses to sign or veto it.—Revenues fall off.—Course of Importers.—Bonds Issued.—Importers again.—The Revulsion in 1894.—Violation of Reciprocity Treaties.—Their Good Effect.—The Wage-earners affected. — Several Platforms. — William McKinley elected over Wm. Jennings Bryan.—The National Democratic Party.

MR. CLEVELAND was inaugurated March 4, 1893. He invited to his cabinet the following gentlemen: Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, Secretary of State; John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Secretary of the Treasury; Daniel S. Lamont of New York, Secretary of War; Richard Olney of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; Wilson S. Bissell of New York, Postmaster-General; Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy; Hoke Smith of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior; and Julius Sterling Morton of Ohio, Secretary of Agriculture.

The platforms of the two parties, as usual, had been published, and they both drew the line distinctly in relation to the financial policy that each one would carry out if successful in the impending election. The prosperity of the country was so great that the impression was general among the friends of the administration and its financial policy that General Harrison would be re-elected, and also a Congress in sympathy

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with the financial policy of the Republican party. They even felt assured that the wage-earners would vote to sustain that party in its promotion of the industries of the country, in which none of its citizens were practically so much interested as the wage-earners themselves, if they desired fair wages and continuous employment. During the canvass a sense of unrest began to manifest itself in business circles lest our commercial and industrial interests might be injured. Yet not only the President but a majority of the new Congress was secured by the Democrats—and both by large popular majority votes. The wage-earners seem to have believed that the prosperity under the high tariff inured to the benefit of the employers rather than the employed, and the commercial classes were troubled by the fluctuation of money-values, which they attributed to the silver-purchase law. When the result of the election became known measures of prudence were taken in order to ward off the threatened evil. Manufacturers began to curtail their operations, and did not produce goods to be held in stock for future sales. They only filled orders, and these fell off to such an extent that often their mills did not run full time. Merchants also limited their stock on hand to meet only actual sales, lest under the threatened tariff reduction they might be swamped by an influx of similar foreign goods, produced under conditions wherein the wages paid the operatives were not half as much as that paid by the American manufacturer, and in consequence the foreigner would have a margin of *a less cost of production*, that would enable him to that extent to undersell the American, even in his own market.

1893. March 4.

Mr. Cleveland's inaugural foreshadowed the prospective policy of his administration along the lines which he had publicly advocated. It treated of a number of subjects, but its main portion was devoted to the

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financial affairs of the country. He opposed strenuously the principle of protection as embodied in the then existing McKinley law, saying: "This [principle] is the bane of republican institutions and the constant peril of our government by the people. . . . It stifles the spirit of true Americanism and stupefies every ennobling trait of American citizenship. . . . The people of the United States have decreed that on this day the control of their government in its legislative and executive branches shall be given to a political party pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform." It is worthy of remark that now, for the first time in thirty-two years, the President and the majority in both Houses of Congress belonged to the Democratic party. CHAP. LXXV.

The implied pledge of "tariff reform" in the inaugural increased the forebodings of impending evil and perhaps ruin to many of the industries of the land, which a few months before were so remarkably prosperous. This portent of evil came home especially to that class of citizens—the wage-earners—who for the greater part in the last presidential election voted the Democratic ticket, but now whose means of living for themselves and families seemed likely ere long to be much diminished because of lack of employment and depression in wages.

In consequence of the depression in general business and in industrial interests, the President by proclamation called an extra session of the Fifty-third Congress, to meet on the 7th of August, 1893. In his message to that body he ignored the almost universal opinion in business circles as to the main cause of the unstable industrial affairs mentioned above, but attributed them to another source, saying: "I believe these things are chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general Govern- 1893.

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ment." Among the results of that law had been a great fall in the price of silver and a corresponding rise in that of gold.

After a discussion in both Houses at intervals, lasting for nearly three months, Congress repealed the portion of the bill that pertained to the purchase of silver bullion. The unsettled business of the country still continued, the repeal of the silver-purchase law having scarcely an effect, if any at all, upon the financial and industrial affairs of the Union.

1893. Nov. 1.

In connection with the repeal just mentioned it may be noted that the most important legislation of Mr. Cleveland's second administration was the passage of the "Reformed Tariff," popularly known as the Wilson-Gorman Bill,—thus designated from the names of the respective chairmen of the committees of the House and the Senate. The discussion on this tariff began in the regular session of the Fifty-third Congress Dec. 19, 1893, lasting to Aug. 15, 1894. The bill was sent to the President, who refused either to sign or veto it, because he regarded it as not such a reform of the tariff as he had advocated and as his Democratic supporters had promised—promises which had gained them the election. The Wilson Bill, as passed by the House, had been changed and corrupted by the Senate under lead of the Gorman Committee. The bill was a botch, embodying the most objectionable features of both protection and anti-protection. Mr. Cleveland declined to be responsible for it, and let it become a law by the lapse of time it remained in his hands.

This act produced in a very short time sad effects upon the main industries of the land, even more distress, especially upon the workpeople, than the previous forebodings of evil had anticipated. The speedy transition from the unusual prosperity of the wage-earners to that of extreme distress was unprecedented. Soon

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their deposits in the savings banks were exhausted, and great numbers of these worthy people, especially in the cities, were compelled to become beneficiaries of charity.

In respect to the revenues of the general Government, they also began to fall off,—both the internal revenue, because of the universal stagnation of business, industrial and commercial, and also that derived from import duties. In regard to the latter, when it became certain that the new tariff, with its lower duties, would be enacted by Congress, at once the importers began to hold back their goods from market in the bonded warehouses, so as to pay no customs till they could get the benefit of the reduced duties. During this time scarcely any duties were paid, and the national revenue to that extent fell off. When the expected tariff was enacted, these goods were passed through custom-houses at a comparatively low rate of duty and in vast quantities; they glutted the market and, in connection with the cautionary curtailment of our manufacturers already mentioned, reduced for many months the production of home manufactures, for, costing less, they of course undersold the domestic goods. In consequence, the duties paid by this great influx of foreign merchandise fell far below the financial necessities of the Government. Thus, for the first time in twenty-seven years the Government was unable to pay any portion of the national debt, and our characteristic of being the only debt-paying nation was marred. On the contrary, the Government was compelled to borrow money for its current expenses by issuing bonds to the amount of $262,000,000.

In this connection we will anticipate. Toward the close of Mr. Cleveland's second administration these foreign importers took a course which in a manner was the reverse of the former one. The presidential elec-

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tion in 1896 gave assurance that the new Republican majority would return to the time-honored principle of protecting the nation's industries by a judicious financial measure. The importers therefore brought in an immense quantity of foreign manufactured goods, under the existing low tariff, and poured them forth in such abundance as to overstock the market for a year, if not more. Thus the Government failed to receive what was properly its due in import duties. Meanwhile the full progress of American manufacturing industries was also retarded for a year or more.

In an off-year election, that held in November, 1894, came the greatest revulsion ever known in respect to the members of Congress. The Fifty-third Congress, elected in 1892, had a Democratic majority in the Senate of seven, and in the House of ninety-six. The Fifty-fourth Congress, elected in 1894, had a Republican majority in the Senate of four, and in the House of one hundred and forty-four. History shows that during the previous *thirty-three* years there were only *two* years in which the Democratic party had a majority in both Houses of Congress, though during that period the lower House, owing to what was called the "Solid [Democratic] South," had a corresponding majority much oftener than had the Republicans.

Of course there must have been reasons which induced this radical and decisive reversal of opinion on the part of the majority of the people, as manifested by their votes in 1894. These reasons are found in legislative measures, which when put in practice affected injuriously the industries of the whole country, especially the interests of the wage-earners.

Mr. Cleveland and the new Congress had undone much of what the Harrison administration had done. The first instance on this line of action was in the case of the Hawaiian Islands. A bill authorizing their annexa-

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tion as territory to the United States had passed the House and was in possession of the Senate, but that body, for lack of time, had been unable to pass it before the Fifty-second Congress ended. Mr. Cleveland at once asked the Senate for the bill, which he kept in his own hands while in office. He did not believe in the measure, and the annexation was delayed four years.

The McKinley Bill had authorized the President, in order to remove misapprehensions that might arise, to make reciprocity treaties—with consent of the Senate—with other nations in relation to duties imposed upon merchandise passing from one to the other in the form of trade. When Mr. Cleveland entered upon his second term about twenty of these treaties were in existence—all the outcome of mutual concessions made in a friendly spirit. To these treaties the provisions of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law were more or less obstructive. 1893. March 4.

An instance or two will illustrate the advantages secured to the American people by these treaties. We import an immense amount of rubber free of duty from Brazil as raw material to use in certain of our manufactures. By treaty for the first time this was counterbalanced by Brazil reducing the duties on a great number of our various exports to that country. A treaty was also made with Spain, of mutual benefit to both parties. By agreement we admitted Cuban sugar free of duty and in return Spain reduced the rate of duty on a great number of our exports to her territories. One item may illustrate: the tax on American flour was $4.62 a barrel, which was reduced to 90 cents, while in consequence of this treaty our trade with Cuba alone was increased seventy per cent. The new Congress, without consulting Spain, violated this treaty by reimposing a duty on sugar, while on account of similar legislation Brazil gave notice of withdrawal from the treaty. That free sugar was a boon to those of limited means in the

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CHAP. LXIV. Union is made clear by the increase of fifty per cent. in its importation. The rich and the well-to-do never stinted themselves in the use of sugar at their tables, but those of limited means were now compelled to deny themselves. In addition was introduced other legislation hostile to the production of sugar in some of the Southern States, and also to that obtained from sugar-beets. This sugar legislation was popularly interpreted as a favor to our great sugar-refining trust and was one of the reasons of President Cleveland's refusal to sign the Wilson-Gorman bill. This kind of legislation predominated in that bill, which in its effect prostrated more or less all our industries that came in competition with the low wages paid operatives in Europe.

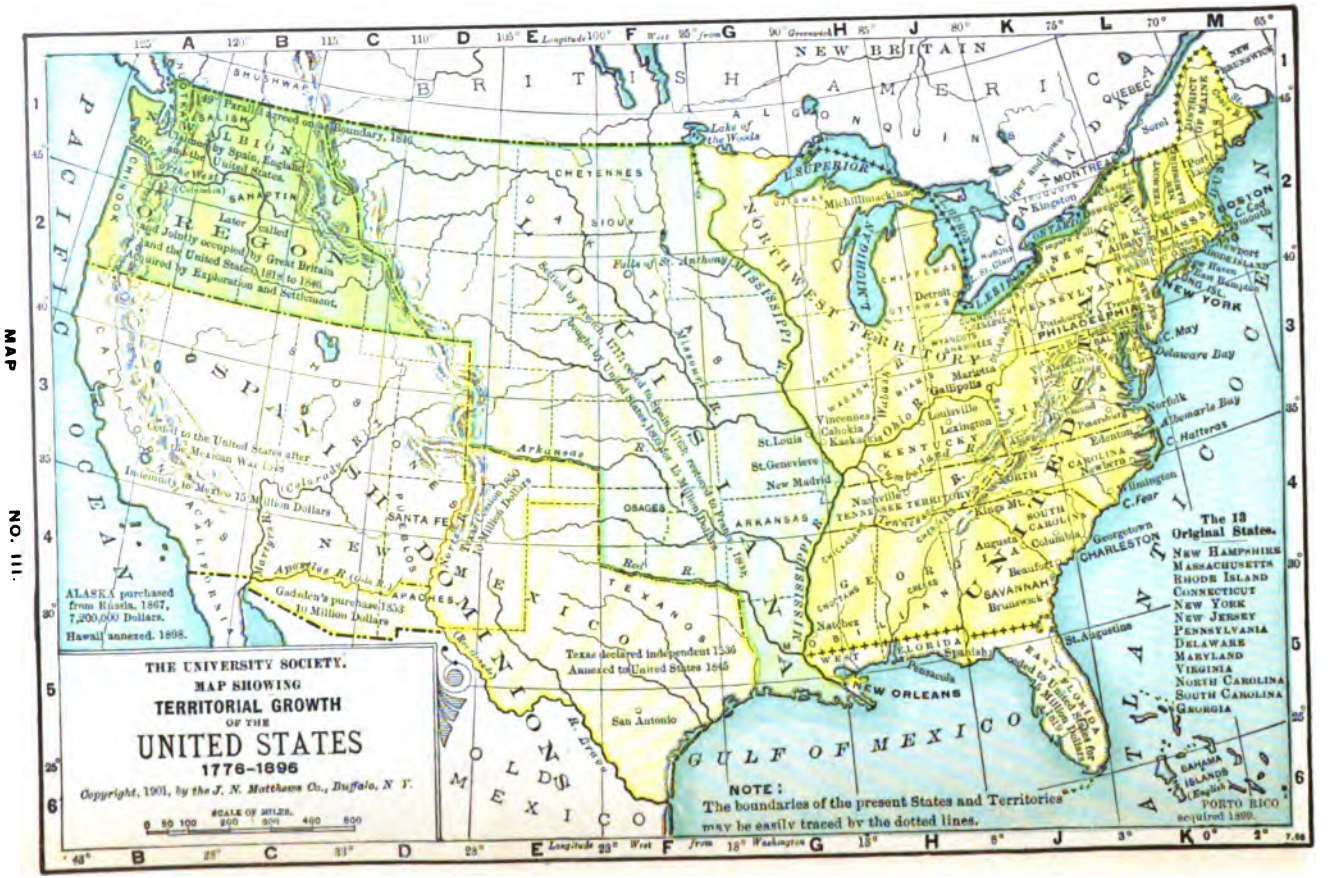
(There seems to be a general difference of opinion between Congress and the men elected to administer the executive and diplomatic business of the country, for similar reciprocity treaties negotiated by President McKinley's administration have been refused confirmation by the Congress of 1900–1901.)

However, the new Democratic Congress was held responsible for all these blunders, and it was no wonder, as we have seen, that under a sense of wrong the majority of the people were indignant, and in the election of 1894 put their veto upon such incompetent statesmanship by changing the majority in both Houses of Congress. The change was remarkable in the case of the wage-earners, most of whom voted in 1892 in favor of the promised cheap goods under the proposed "Reformed Tariff." They were also duped by the specious electioneering slogan, "Let us have a change, anyway," which was proclaimed throughout the land. The cheap goods came, but the wage-earners had no money to buy —their wages were diminished, while for the most part they themselves were out of employment. In consequence they saw their error, and went back to the party

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MAP NO. 111.



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MAP NO. IV.



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that always legislated so as to promote the varied interests of the people.

The people of the Territory of Utah having adopted an acceptable constitution, applied for admission to the Union. By proclamation of the President the Territory was admitted as a State January 4, 1896. 1896. Jan. 4.

The new Republican Congress made no effort to amend measures recently enacted, which pertained to the financial affairs and industries of the Nation. Its legislation was limited to routine business, thus its various enactments were more local than national in their importance.

As the time (November, 1896) for the presidential and congressional elections drew near, an unusual interest was manifested by intelligent people as to their outcome. This anxiety was owing to the then general depression in all business relations. The latter condition affected especially the large class of wage-earners and wage-payers, as well as the farmers and those engaged in commerce, foreign and domestic. These citizens realized most clearly that the result of the coming elections must influence the future financial and industrial policy of the National Government.

The Republican party was the first to meet in a representative national Convention, in St. Louis, Missouri, on June 16, 1896. Its sessions were remarkably brief, lasting only about three days. The exigencies of the country may account for the unusual unanimity of sentiment among the members of this convention, numbering 924. 1896. June 16.

Mr. William McKinley of Ohio was nominated on the first ballot for the Presidency, and also on the first ballot was nominated Mr. Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for the Vice-presidency.

The platform adopted was comprehensive in its general principles. It noticed the depressed condition of

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the country and what they deemed the cause thereof. In referring to the principle of protection it said: "This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it lays the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market to the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman. Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy —they go hand in hand." The platform also urged the upbuilding of "our merchant marine." "We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty."

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, Illinois, July 7, 1896. The number of its delegates was 930. Mr. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska was nominated its candidate for the Presidency, and Mr. Arthur Sewall of Maine as its candidate for the Vice-presidency.

The adoption of the platform was by no means unanimous. The chief contention was in respect to the policy of the unlimited coinage of silver dollars, and of making gold the standard of value in mercantile transactions. A remarkable change of opinion had taken place within the party. In the extra session of the Fifty-second Congress called by Mr. Cleveland, its first
1893. act was to repeal the law authorizing the purchase of silver bullion, as a measure fraught with great evil to the interests of the country. Now, three years later, the Democratic Convention in its platform says: "Recognizing that the money question is paramount to all others at this time . . . we demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio, 16 to 1"—that is, strictly 15.98 ounces of silver to *one* of gold—"without waiting for the aid or

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consent of any other nation." But the minority report or platform declared that the above policy "would place this country at once upon a silver basis, impair contracts, disturb business, diminish the purchasing power of labor, and inflict irreparable evils upon our Nation's industry and commerce. . . . We favor the rigid maintenance of the existing gold standard." The platform reported by the majority was passed—626 in the affirmative and 301 in the negative. Both the majority and the minority in their respective platforms ignored the unusual depression in the business of the country, and especially the distress of the wage-earners, whose wages were much diminished, and who for the greater part were out of employment. Neither did they refer to the fact that Mr. Cleveland's second administration stopped paying any portion of the national debt, but even increased it by $262,000,000. A resolution endorsing in friendly terms Mr. Cleveland's administration was voted down in the convention by a majority of 207. Mr. Bryan, a former Congressman from Nebraska, a man of radically socialistic and populistic sympathies, had captured the Convention by a ringing speech for "popular rights," and the Democratic party was divided into two sections.

The minority, soon after the final adjournment of the Chicago Convention, resolved to form a "National Democratic Party." Its convention, consisting of 888 members, met in Indianapolis, Indiana, on September 2, 1896, and nominated for the Presidency Mr. John M. Palmer of Illinois, and for the Vice-Presidency Mr. Simon Bolivar Buckner of Kentucky. This convention cordially indorsed Mr. Cleveland's administration, and passed resolutions in favor of the gold standard.

1896. July 22. The convention of the People's or Populist Party met at St. Louis July 22, 1896. It indorsed Mr. Bryan, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency. It also nominated for the Vice-Presidency Thomas E. Watson.

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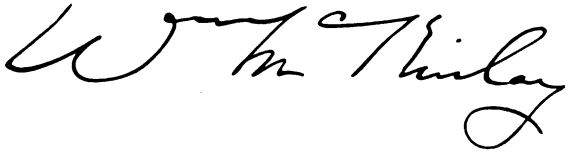
The national convention of the Prohibition Party met in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 28, 1896. It nominated Joshua Levering of Maryland for President, and Hale Johnson of Illinois for Vice-President. The convention adopted the following resolution: "We favor the legal prohibition by State and National legislation of the manufacture, importation, exportation, interstate transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages."

In the election of November 3, 1896, William McKinley was elected President, and Garret A. Hobart Vice-President, and the Republicans gained a majority in both Houses.

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CHAPTER LXXVI.

McKINLEY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

The Inaugural.—Extra Session.—The Tariff, how matured.—The Dingley Bill.—Interest in the sad affairs of Cuba.—Measures of Gen. Weyler.—Efforts to relieve distress of the Cubans.—Congress providently makes an appropriation.—Spain virtually declares war.—Volunteer Troops called for.—Dewey at Manila.—Naval Blockade of Cuba.—Troops land and invest Santiago.—Hobson and the Merrimac.—Cervera's fleet destroyed.—The land campaign.—Santiago surrenders.—Porto Rico occupied.

WILLIAM McKINLEY was born in Ohio January 25, 1843. His education was at first in the public school, but when a student in Allegheny College and under eighteen years of age he left his studies to enter the Union Army (1861). He served during the whole war: entering as a private he came out a major; he was in a number of battles, and received on several occasions the commendations of his superior officers.

At the close of the war he commenced the study of law, privately, but afterward entered the Albany Law School, from which he was graduated with high honor. At once he commenced the practice of his profession in Canton, Ohio, where he still has his home. He was elected to the Forty-fifth Congress (1877) in his 34th year, and for nearly fourteen years he served in that body. Meantime, he was an untiring student of all measures that pertained to the welfare of the country, especially on the lines of its industries and finances.

In the Fifty-first Congress (1889), his ability being recognized, he was appointed chairman of the important

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CHAP. LXXVI. Committee of Ways and Means, and as such he devoted all his energies to complete the measures that came for consideration before that committee. The outcome was the McKinley Bill (1890). In 1891 McKinley was elected Governor of Ohio by a large majority; he was also elected to a second term (January 1, 1893).

President McKinley was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies on March 4, 1897. His cabinet consisted of the following gentlemen: John Sherman of Ohio, Secretary of State; Lyman J. Gage of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger of Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; John W. Griggs of New Jersey, Attorney-General; Cornelius N. Bliss of New York, Secretary of the Interior; James A. Gary, Postmaster-general; and James Wilson of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.

The first administration of Mr. McKinley was noted for the enactment of a financial and industrial measure of far-reaching influence, and also for the stirring event of a brief war with Spain,—both in the first half of its term.

On assuming office the President called an extra session of the recently elected Congress to convene on the 15th of March, 1897. The depressed condition of the general business and the industries of the Nation, and the corresponding distress, especially among the workpeople, owing to the influence of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff, necessitated this measure.

In anticipation of this extra session and of its action on financial affairs, and also to facilitate its work, the Republican members of the Committee of Ways and Means, during the second session of the last Congress, had unofficially conferred together frequently, and matured a tariff on the lines of the McKinley Bill, which had been so remarkably successful in promoting the various business interests of the country. This self-consti-

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tuted and earnest committee availed itself of every facility to obtain correct information by inviting hearings from experts and also from gentlemen who were practical managers in the various industries of the land. The result was a tariff prepared with great care, which was introduced into the Lower House at its first meeting and placed in the hands of the members to be studied.

The bill, having been thoroughly discussed in the House, was passed by a large majority and sent to the Senate. The Finance Committee of the latter body gave it careful attention for a month, calling for information from experts and business men. The bill was then placed before the Senate itself, which in the way of discussion went over the whole field, and, suggesting some amendments, sent it back to the House. A conference committee from both Houses went over the bill again, made some changes and reported it to the House. That body confirmed the report, and sent the bill thus amended to the Senate; and that body also accepted the report of the Committee of Conference. On the same day the President signed the bill, and the tariff known as the Dingley Bill became the law of the land. This financial measure is the outcome of thirty-five years of a series of tariffs, amended from time to time as experience dictated. It is so comprehensive in its provisions that it reaches every portion of the Union and takes cognizance of their varied productions.

1897. July 24.

The friendly relations of the people of the United States and those of the island of Cuba had long been intimate in the way of commercial intercourse,—trade that was beneficial to both parties. The better portion of the Cubans, especially the native-born, were goaded almost to desperation by the numerous acts of tyranny and injustice inflicted upon them by the Spanish government, so that in self-defence they had entered a struggle

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for independence. The contest lasted for years. The taxes levied to support royalty in Spain were enormous and most unjust; the civil rights of the people were disregarded, while the venality of the island's civil authorities, the appointees of Spain, was well known to be almost universal. The American people sympathized deeply with the suffering Cubans, and their representatives time and again gave expression to their sentiments in resolutions passed in the national conventions of both the leading political parties. The United States government more than once proposed in a friendly manner to aid in remedying these wrongs; but though the Spanish government promised fairly, yet the oppressions continued to increase.

1896. Oct. 21.

The culmination of these atrocities was reached when Gen. Weyler, commandant of the Spanish forces in Cuba, in order to crush the patriots, who lived mostly outside the towns garrisoned by Spanish soldiers, put in force a system of devastation by driving the people who resided in the country into the garrisoned towns. This was called "concentration"; and the people thus herded were known as *reconcentrados*. The latter were thus deprived of their means of living; their homes and farm buildings were burned; their fields laid waste; their live-stock driven away or killed. This policy continued as long as Weyler was in office, about two years. It is estimated on good authority that 400,000 farmers or residents of the rural districts were thus reduced to virtual starvation, and in consequence disease, so that one-half of these poor people perished. The accounts of their untold miseries were heralded abroad, and even Spain intimated that gifts of provisions would be acceptable, and in consequence President McKinley appealed to the humane in behalf of the sufferers. The appeal was quickly responded to, and provisions were sent in great quantities by American citizens. The distribution

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of these supplies was entrusted to the United States consulates, and to aid in the cause Miss Clara Barton, the head of the Red Cross Association, volunteered and did most effective work. Meanwhile, U. S. Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee at Havana, though trammeled by numerous other duties, did all he could to relieve these distresses. Strange to say, public opinion in Spain itself looked with suspicion upon those charitable efforts, while in Cuba the royalists were even more demonstrative in their hostile actions, so that the American residents became alarmed for their safety and appealed for protection to their own government. No doubt much of this popular enmity may be traced to the deliberate misrepresentation of the Spanish newspapers. For illustration: the President, in his anxiety to relieve these poor people as soon as possible, ordered war-vessels that were lying idle to carry these provisions rather than wait to charter merchant-vessels. This kind act was represented as a menace, and Spain was induced thereby to protest against supplies being sent in war-vessels. Again: these poor people, all their household effects being destroyed by the Weyler orders, now needed utensils to cook the raw provisions which they had received; but when these cooking utensils came from the United States, the Spanish authorities would not permit their distribution until the ordinary customs duty was paid.

For a time there seemed to be a better feeling on the part of the Spanish government, as it had given its acquiescence to certain measures and in some ways manifested good-will toward the United States. To reciprocate this disposition the warship *Maine* was sent on a friendly visit to Havana, as is customary between nations in amicable relations. The ship was apparently well received, and under the direction of a government pilot anchored in the harbor. Some of the newspapers bitterly assailed the visit as an attempt to aid the insurrec-

1898. Jan. 25.

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tion. On the 15th of February, 1898, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, the *Maine* was blown up. By the explosion two officers and 266 marines lost their lives. The news of this catastrophe caused intense excitement throughout the Union, for it was deemed an act of treachery on the part of the Spanish authorities.

1898. Jan. 25.

An investigation followed, by a Naval Court of Inquiry, of which Captain W. T. Sampson of our navy was the president. The court made an elaborate report, which was rendered in due time. Article 7th of the report says: "In the opinion of the court, the *Maine* was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines." The Spanish authorities also instituted an inquiry by which the opinion was expressed that the *Maine* was blown up by the explosion of one of her own magazines. This report was at once published, and for obvious reasons.

1898. March 21.

The relations between the two countries became more and more strained, and several misunderstandings arose, which when taken alone in times of mutual friendly feeling would have been easily arranged, but under the circumstances became very irritating. For instance, the Spanish Minister at Washington—DeLome—in a private letter used insulting language in respect to the President of the United States. In some unexplained way, but contrary to DeLome's wishes, this letter was found in the public prints. The attention of the Spanish government was called to the matter, and after some hesitation it disavowed what DeLome had written, recalled him, and sent in his place another minister. Soon afterward, apparently in way of reprisal, the Spanish government, without giving a reason, asked that Gen. Lee, our Consul-General at Havana, should be recalled. The President declined even to consider the request. Neither did he, as a matter of convenience, see any rea-

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son why he should not send supplies to the destitute people of Cuba in war vessels, to which mode of conveyance the Spanish government had objected. These matters seem trivial, but under the circumstances they were none the less irritating. CHAP. LXXVI

The general aspect of the condition of affairs seemed ominous of impending evil; the President was induced to invite prominent members of Congress and leaders in both political parties to a conference on the whole subject. The conference considered the proper steps to be taken in view of future contingencies. As a measure of prudence, as war seemed imminent, on March 6th the House of Representatives unanimously voted to put at the disposal of the President $50,000,000 to be utilized as he thought best in the emergency. Afterward Congress enacted a special tax to meet the *extra* expenses of the impending war. 1898. March 6.

In the meantime the North Atlantic Squadron was directed to assemble at Key West, Florida, and oth measures were taken in the general line of defense in case of war. Against these preliminaries the Spanish government remonstrated, but at the same time made similar preparations, voted large amounts of money, etc.

Negotiations were continued, but without definite results. Spain made proposals that could not be accepted, because they virtually granted nothing, and in truth gave the impression that in so doing she was not sincere, but preferred that her advances should be rejected. Meanwhile the Cuban oppressions were not relaxed and the opinion prevailed that a decided stand on the part of the United States must be taken. In accordance with that view the President sent to Congress a message covering the whole ground—historic and diplomatic—in which document he gave among many others one reason that of itself would justify interven- 1898. April 11.

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tion of some kind, namely: "to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there [in Cuba], and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or mitigate." He also stated—as to our own interest in the condition of Cuban affairs, endangering the life and property of American citizens there, and the commerce and even health of our Southern ports—that "the only hope of relief and repose from a condition that can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba."

1898. April 24.

Diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments ceased on April 24, 1898, Spain taking the initiative, and thus war was in effect declared. The patriotism of this country rallied to the support of the Government and the President, the prevailing sentiment being that, though war was to be deprecated, yet under the circumstances this was a war which all recognized as righteous and waged in the cause of a humane civilization and of human freedom. This view of the justice of the war, also, appears to have been universal among the nations of Europe, every one of whom turned a deaf ear to the pathetic appeals of Spain for aid and sympathy.

1898. April 23.

Owing to the threatening aspect of affairs with Spain the President thought it prudent to issue a call for the enlistment of 125,000 volunteers, apportioned among the States, the Territories, and the District of Columbia, according to the number of their population. These troops were to serve for two years if not sooner discharged. The call for these volunteers was responded to promptly throughout the country. Camps were speedily formed at convenient points in order to accommodate the recruits and to afford facilities for their effective drill. A month later the President called for an additional 75,000 volunteers.

While these troops were preparing, stirring events

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were in progress on the ocean. Commodore Dewey, CHAP. LXXVI. commanding the United States squadron in Asiatic waters, consisting of six vessels, was ordered to proceed from Mirs Bay, China, to engage and if possible destroy the Spanish fleet in the harbor of the city of Manila, 1898. April 27. in the Philippine Islands, that archipelago having been for two hundred years in the possession of Spain.

When he arrived, at daylight on the morning of 1898. May 1. May 1, in spite of the information that the harbor was mined with submarine torpedoes and guarded by several forts, he boldly took his way into the harbor, and at once opened fire on the Spanish fleet of ten warships of different grades, and in a few hours captured or destroyed the entire number. The Spanish loss in men was 618; the Americans did not lose a man and only two were wounded. This marvelous result was owing to the skill and rapid firing of the American gunners, who scarcely threw away a shot, while the Spanish artillery was utterly ineffective. Three days later Dewey's fleet took possession of Cavité, a naval station in the harbor, destroying the fortifications at the mouth of the bay. Commodore Dewey, having no accommodation for prisoners, paroled all the prisoners taken in these conflicts. The Spaniards fought with desperate bravery, but were powerless to effectively reply to our gunnery.

While the operations just mentioned were going on in the Philippine Islands, military movements were also in progress around Cuba and Porto Rico, an effective blockade was maintained around both islands and a number of their fortifications were bombarded from time to time and more or less injured, while some were totally demolished. The fleet in Cuban waters was under command of Rear-Admiral W. T. Sampson.

It was known that a Spanish fleet consisting of four 1898. April 29. cruisers and three torpedo boats had sailed from the Cape Verde Islands. The question was, where had they

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gone? Were they to prey upon our commerce or assail some port on our coast? The Spanish squadron eluded the American and finally slipped into the harbor of Santiago, on the south coast of Cuba. The Spanish Senate afterward complimented Admiral Cervera for "cleverly dodging the American fleet," though in the end it proved a great mistake. It was soon ascertained that the Spanish fleet was in the harbor, the entrance to which is a long, narrow and crooked channel. It was determined in some way to prevent the fleet coming out. Assistant Naval Constructor Richmond P. Hobson volunteered to make an effort to put an obstruction in the channel. With a brave crew of seven men—all volunteers—Hobson ran the steam-collier *Merrimac* to a certain point in the channel under the plunging fire of forts on the heights, and then scuttled and sank her, but the channel at that point proved to be too wide for the *Merrimac* to close it completely. In trying to escape the gallant little band drifted in a boat to the shore and were all captured. Admiral Cervera, recognizing their heroic deed, treated them in a chivalrous manner, even sending word to the American commander of his action, saying: "Daring like theirs makes the bitterest enemy proud that his fellow men can be such heroes." Hobson and his crew were not long afterward exchanged, though the Spanish government refused at first to make the exchange.

1898. June 3.

The Spanish forts having been silenced by the guns of the American warships, the first landing of United States troops on Cuban soil was made at Guantanamo, a few miles east of Santiago, where 800 marines under Col. R. W. Huntingdon hoisted the Stars and Stripes on the island of Cuba.

1898. June 10.

Immediately after the landing desultory fighting began and was carried on by Spanish irregular soldiers. To put an end to this annoyance, four days after the

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landing the marines suddenly made a dashing sortie, and routing the surprised enemy, drove them off and then completely destroyed their camp. In this spirited conflict about forty of the enemy were killed or wounded, while only one marine was slightly wounded. Meanwhile Admiral Sampson's warships shelled the forts and earthworks at Caimanera on the bay of Guantanamo. CHAP. LXXVI.

A fleet of transports carrying the United States shore forces under command of Gen. Shafter now arrived off Santiago, and a conference was held between Admiral Sampson, Gen. Shafter, and Gen. Garcia, the commander of the patriot army of Cuba. At this conference plans were devised to effect a landing of troops as soon as possible; the warships commenced bombarding at several points, and so effectively that the way was cleared and the landing was made in the vicinity of Santiago and without much difficulty, as the Spanish troops retired to the neighboring hills, but kept up a desultory firing at long range. 1898. June 21.

Our army numbered 815 officers and 16,072 soldiers, of whom about three-fourths were regulars. Cable communication was at once made direct with Washington from Playa del Este, the point where the landing was effected. A few days afterward a reinforcement of 1600 men joined the main body. 1898. June 23.

Connected with this army was a unique regiment of cavalry known as "Rough Riders." They were mostly "cowboys" from the plains of the West, and were famed for their skill in horsemanship and their fearlessness of character. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, who owned ranches in the West, and had had much experience in company with these men, recognized the good qualities of the daring fellows, and they looked upon him as a leader in whom they had implicit faith. At Roosevelt's request they enlisted for the war. He declined to be their leader, and Dr. Leonard Wood, an army sur-

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geon of long experience on the Western plains, was made Colonel, Roosevelt taking the position of Lieut.-Colonel. Wood was soon put in charge of a brigade, and Roosevelt became Colonel.

1898. June 24. These "Rough Riders" and detachments of other cavalry of the regular army, including colored troops, had a spirited battle with about 2,000 Spanish troops at Juragua, near Santiago. The enemy, discomfited by their dash, was thrown into confusion and driven off the field. The American loss was twelve killed and forty wounded, the Spanish loss being much heavier.

The advance on Santiago was delayed some days because of the lack of facilities for moving, such as for transportation of provisions, and also the non-arrival of siege guns. The climate was alternately hot by day and cold by night; there were no proper roads; barbed-wire obstructions hindered the advance; rations were few; rain fell in torrents. At length two divisions of Gen. Shafter's army advanced and were met by Spanish troops in front of Santiago. Our forces had marched north from the coast, and under Generals Lawton, Kent, and Wheeler (with the cavalry) attacked two fortified places to the east of Santiago,—San Juan Hill

1898. July 1. and El Caney. The Americans after severe fighting captured both of these places, at the expense of nearly 1600 men killed and wounded, the Spanish loss being estimated at double that number. The following day the invading army kept pressing on and the enemy were driven back, so that on the third day Gen. Shafter's forces invested Santiago itself, and demanded its surrender within thirty-six hours, with the threat of bombardment from both army and fleet in case of refusal. The demand was refused.

1898. July 3. Before the thirty-six hours expired other operations arrested the attention of both parties. If the city should be taken, Admiral Cervera's fleet would be at a great dis-

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advantage in contending with batteries placed on shore. His fleet had been shut in the harbor about two months and a half, and the Admiral determined to make an attempt to escape with his seven warships. The latter passed in file around the *Merrimac* hulk on Sunday morning, July 3, but only to meet at the mouth of the harbor the American warships waiting in readiness. Two of the Spanish torpedo boats—the *Furor* and the *Pluton*—were the first to come out; they were soon destroyed by the improvised American torpedo boat *Gloucester*—formerly the yacht *Corsair*—under Commander Richard Wainwright. The *Gloucester's* rapid and accurate firing guns gave the crews of the *Furor* and the *Pluton* no opportunity to reply. Meantime, the three Spanish cruisers *Infanta Maria Teresa*, *Almirante Oquendo* and *Vizcaya*, as they came out, were attacked by the armored cruiser *Brooklyn*, Commander Schley; the *Oregon*, Captain Clark—which a day or two before had arrived from Honolulu; the *Iowa*, Captain Evans, the *Indiana*, Captain Taylor, and the *Texas*, Captain Philip.

The three Spanish cruisers were soon driven ashore, about four miles from the entrance to the harbor, where, our exploding shells having set fire to them, they were burned and blown up. The warship *Cristobal Colon*, being of extra speed, tried by not engaging in the fight to escape; thus she had quite a start. But the battleship *Oregon* began the pursuit, ably aided by the *Brooklyn*, and after a chase of about fifty miles the *Colon* was overtaken. But the Spanish crew, in order that the *Colon* might not fall into the hands of the Americans uninjured, opened all the sea-valves and thus caused her to fill and sink. Of the American warships only the *Brooklyn* and *Iowa* were struck five or six times; but one American was killed and three were wounded. The Spanish fleet lost six ships, 510 killed and wounded,

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CHAP. LXVI. and 1774 prisoners; the latter were sent at once to the United States, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Commander Wainwright courteously received on board the *Gloucester* Admiral Cervera, who was slightly wounded, and a number of Spanish officers, for whose comfort was assigned a cabin. In about a fortnight they were transferred as prisoners of war to Annapolis, Maryland. It is worthy of note that the Americans showed quite as much bravery in rescuing the despairing Spaniards from their dangerous position on their burning and exploding war-ships as in the battle itself.

Rear Admiral Sampson and his flagship *New York* happened to be some ten miles distant along the coast on a tour of inspection, and as the Spanish war-ships did not attempt to escape in his direction, he was unable to reach the scene of the conflict in person. But he was there in spirit and in influence, for just as his admirable planning had sealed up the harbors of Havana and San Juan (Porto Rico), so the prompt following of his instructions on the appearance of the escaping Spanish fleet at Santiago harbor resulted in that fleet's destruction. Much controversy has been had over this, but needlessly. On the one hand, the victory was that of Sampson's fleet, and on the other, as one of the captains cheerily said, "There is glory enough to go round!"

During this battle an incident occurred that deserves mention. When one of the Spanish ships sought safety by running plump on the shore, the men on the battle-ship *Texas* raised a cheer. Captain Philip called out: "Boys, don't cheer; the poor fellows are dying. Don't cheer! don't cheer!" When the conflict was over he called the men on deck and asked them to reverently bow their heads and each one in his own way return thanks to God for their success and the safety of so many, as only one of their comrades had fallen.

In accordance with a proclamation of the President,

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thanksgiving services were held on the following Sunday in the churches throughout the Union in gratitude for the successes of the American army and navy, and with ardent prayers for the speedy return of peace. 1898. July 10.

After the destruction of the Spanish fleet there was some desultory fighting and bombarding of fortifications around Santiago, but without permanent results. Overtures, meanwhile, were made to General Torral, who was in command, in respect to surrendering the city, and an armistice was agreed upon to enable Gen. Torral to communicate with the government at Madrid. The outcome was that a formal surrender was agreed upon and made: the Spanish troops to march out with the honors of war and lay down their arms. It was 1898. July 17. also stipulated that these prisoners of war should be transported to Spain at the expense of the United States. In consequence our forces took possession of Santiago, and the United States flag was hoisted over the Governor's palace. In a short time a contract for transporting these prisoners home was awarded the Spanish Transatlantic Company, which agreement was carried out in due time.

The utter destruction of Cervera's fleet had a most demoralizing effect upon the Spanish forces in Cuba and Porto Rico. The impression was abroad among them that Spanish rule in the islands was about to end, and in consequence they entered upon a defence or an attack in a half-hearted spirit. Porto Rico, in comparison with Cuba, was a sort of side issue, yet an expedition was organized to capture that island. General Miles in command, a force of soldiers and marines 1898. July 25. landed on the south coast near the city of Ponce, and after a short conflict in its suburbs drove off the opposing force. A few days later the Americans occupied 1898. July 29. both the port and the city of Ponce, the Spanish therein having surrendered. Afterward a few towns

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were taken; the garrisons, making but a show of defence, either surrendered or retired. Meanwhile the Porto Rican people everywhere welcomed the American troops, looking upon them as deliverers from oppression. The Spanish forces at several places on the island held out for a time, but finally gave up the cause, as they had heard the rumors of peace and its conditions, and they surrendered in great numbers.

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CHAPTER LXXVII.

McKINLEY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

Affairs in the Philippines.—Aguinaldo.—His proclamation.—Manila occupied.—The French Minister at Washington speaks in behalf of Spain.—Peace Commissioners.—Cuban Debt.—Spain cedes Territory.—Adjustment of Railroad Debts.—The Gold Standard.—Porto Rican Tariff.—Hawaii annexed.—Alaska.—McKinley and Roosevelt nominated by the Republicans.—Wm. J. Bryan by the Democrats.—Several Platforms.—Re-election of McKinley.

WE now return to the affairs in the Philippine Islands. Commodore Dewey—or, as he was now promoted to be, Rear-Admiral—was cramped in his efforts to secure what his victory had gained, because he had not sufficient land forces to occupy important places on shore. At first the Filipinos who were in insurrection against the Spanish authorities were universally willing to act in concert with the Americans, but afterward a comparatively small portion of them were induced to become hostile to the rule of the United States.

One Emilio Aguinaldo, who had been a leader among the insurgents against Spain, had previously left the islands at the close of the former insurrection, and was in China, and when Dewey's fleet sailed for Manila he was permitted to go on board one of the vessels, as both the U. S. Consul at Hong Kong and Dewey thought he would be useful in securing the aid of the insurgent natives against the Spaniards. After the battle in Manila Harbor Aguinaldo went ashore, and ere long was in command of the army gathered by the insurgents, and

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at first acted in concert with the American forces as efficient allies. But as the Spanish losses continued, the hopes of the Filipinos for the independence they had fought for in both insurrections grew more confident. Admiral Dewey reported early in June that they had taken 1,800 prisoners, and by the 20th this number was increased to 4,000. Finally, without consultation with the American authorities, Aguinaldo came out with a

1898. June 12. proclamation announcing a provisional government for the Philippine Islands, and a declaration of independence of Spanish authority. There is no evidence that he was elected by his followers, but there is that he assumed the Presidency of the improvised provisional government—doubtless, however, by general consent. as he was their recognized leader. He announced that he would not oppose an American protectorate for his government. The insurgents continued to harass the Spanish.

1898. July 25. At length Gen. Merritt, who had been appointed Military Governor of the Philippines, arrived at Manila on the warship *Monterey*, which was accompanied by transports on board of which were United States troops. Admiral Dewey was prepared to act in connection with these land forces, and accordingly he and Gen. Merritt demanded the surrender of Manila, which was refused.

1898. Aug. 13. The fleet opened fire upon the fortifications at 9.30 A.M., and at once the land forces opened from their trenches under Gen. E. V. Greene. This occurred the day after the signature of the peace negotiations between Spain and the United States, unknown to the forces in the Philippines. At 1 P.M. the Spanish forces surrendered, and Manila was occupied by the Americans. The intense hatred of the Filipinos toward the Spaniards was well known, as well as their love of plunder, and for that reason they could not be trusted within the city, lest they should pillage it indiscriminately. This ex-

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clusion from what they had long coveted made them exceedingly angry and revengeful. CHAP. LXXVII.

Both Spain and the United States, however, were ready before this to enter upon negotiations for peace. The first overture on the subject was in behalf of Spain and was presented by M. Jules Cambon, the French Minister at Washington. It was of course well received by the President. Then commenced a series of correspondence. In the meantime an armistice was proclaimed by the President, and word was sent as soon as possible to the respective commanding officers. 1898. July 26.

A protocol or preliminary document was drawn up in which was defined in general terms the basis of the Treaty of Peace about to be concluded. It was signed on the part of the United States by William R. Day, Secretary of State, and on behalf of Spain by his Excellency Jules Cambon, Minister to the United States from the Republic of France. The protocol was adopted (September 10th) by the Spanish Senate, and was signed the following day by the Queen Regent. 1898. Aug. 12.

According to the agréement, each party was to appoint five Commissioners to the Peace Convention, which was to meet in Paris on the first day of the following October. On the part of the United States five Commissioners were appointed, consisting of the Hon. William R. Day of Ohio, United States Senators Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, William P. Frye of Maine, George Gray of Delaware, and Whitelaw Reid of New York. The Spanish government also appointed five Commissioners, of whom as chief was Señor Montero Rios, president of the Spanish Senate.

The first joint session of the Convention was held in Paris October 1st, in apartments assigned for the purpose at the French Foreign Office. The Convention was guided by and limited to the consideration of the items recorded in the protocol. But incidentally came up 1898. Oct. 1.

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what was called the Cuban debt, which was said to have been contracted in the form of bonds issued for the benefit of Spain alone, but credited as if belonging to Cuba, whose people derived no advantage from them. The American Commissioners refused to consider the matter, first, because it was outside the protocol, and secondly, this debt was a matter for Spain alone. In this view of the case the Spanish Commissioners temporarily acquiesced, and the subject was left to future negotiation. The Convention continued its sessions, carefully discussing every point at issue, and after two months and ten days the Treaty of Peace was signed by all the Commissioners; this was six months and sixteen days after the war was declared.

1898. Dec. 10.

The leading features of the treaty were the relinquishment by Spain of all sovereignty over Cuba, the cession to the United States of Porto Rico, and in the East Indies of the Philippine Islands and also the island of Guam in the Ladrones—the latter a way-station on the route from Manila to Honolulu. The United States agreed to pay for the Philippines $20,000,000.

On March 17, 1899, the Queen Regent of Spain signed the treaty, which was transmitted to M. Cambon, who communicated with our Secretary of State, Mr. John Hay. The formal exchange of ratifications took place at Washington April 11, 1899.

1899. April 11.

The United States Government entered at once upon redeeming the pledges given the world, that by intervention it would relieve the people of Cuba and Porto Rico, who were struggling to be free from oppression, and also, incidentally, the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, who were in a similar condition. The American people have thus secured for the inhabitants of these far-separated islands the opportunity to prepare themselves

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by good morals and a proper political education for self-government. CHAP. LXXVII.

The Spanish troops, according to an agreement, were to evacuate Cuba and Porto Rico on or before the first of January, 1899.

Gen. Elwell S. Otis, who, like Merritt, was a veteran of the Civil War, and after that a valiant Indian fighter, was now sent to succeed Merritt as Military Governor of the Philippine Islands. He sailed from San Francisco July 10, 1898. As directed by the Government, he stopped over for a day or two at the Hawaiian Islands, and there, in accordance with the action of Congress in annexing these islands to the United States, he hoisted the Stars and Stripes at Honolulu. 1898. Aug. 12.

To return briefly to civil matters:—The United States Government had issued bonds to aid the construction of certain Pacific railways. These bonds were a loan, to be returned with the accrued interest thereon. The roads had failed to meet their obligations and unsuccessful efforts were made to adjust these claims. The Government had received from time to time a portion of this indebtedness, in the form of transportation on the roads. When Mr. McKinley's administration came in, the prospect for better business times began to brighten, and for that reason the Government was more able to dispose of its liens on the Union and Kansas Pacific railways. These roads were bought in by the "Reorganization Committee," and the final adjustment was arranged. "The total amount received by the national Government in the two sales was $64,151,223—about $20,000,000 in excess of the amount the Government offered to take in the latter part of the preceding [Cleveland] administration." 1898. Feb. 16.

Gold, being the less variable in value of the precious metals, had been accepted, though conventionally, in

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commerce as the standard of value from time immemorial. But owing to the prominence of the "gold basis," which had induced many independent Democrats as well as the Republicans to vote for Mr. McKinley, and the general distrust of the country for the extreme "silver basis" of the Bryan Democrats, the new Republican Congress fulfilled their campaign promises by enacting a law that "makes the dollar consisting of twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of gold nine-tenths fine the standard unit of value." Also, the law "requires the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain at a parity of value with this standard all forms of money issued or coined by the United States."

1900. March 14.

In order to aid the people of Porto Rico in providing revenue to support temporarily their government, Congress passed a law imposing a tariff—only *fifteen per cent* of that of 1897—upon imports from Porto Rico into the United States after the evacuation of that island by the Spanish troops, October 18, 1898. The law also provided that these moneys thus received should be paid over to the people of Porto Rico, to be used "in public education, public works, and other governmental and public purposes therein, till otherwise provided by law."

1900. April 12.

The Fifty-sixth Congress enacted laws authorizing territorial governments in Hawaii and in Alaska, April 30 and June 6, 1900.

As the time drew near again to make nominations for the offices of the Presidency and the Vice-presidency, the sentiment of the Republican party turned spontaneously to the renomination of President McKinley. The Republican Convention met in Philadelphia June 19, 1900. At first several names were mentioned in connection with the nomination for the Vice-presidency, but finally the general choice fell upon Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of the State of New York.

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President McKinley was unanimously nominated, and Governor Roosevelt lacked only one vote—his own—of being thus chosen. The Convention numbered 920 members and was remarkably harmonious in all its deliberations.

We give only a brief summary of the salient points of the Republican platform. It reiterated the party's well-known political and financial doctrine of protection, under which principle the varied industries of the country had always prospered, especially within recent years. The party renewed its allegiance to the gold standard of value, "in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. . . . We condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices. We favor legislation to protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce."

The platform cordially endorsed the policy and action of Mr. McKinley's administration in respect to the war with Spain, the treaty of peace with Spain, and its treatment of the inhabitants of Cuba and Porto Rico and those of the Philippine and Hawaiian islands. "We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States."

The Democratic National Convention met in Kansas City, Missouri, July 4, 1900. It re-nominated for the Presidency Mr. William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, and named for the Vice-presidency, Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois.

The following is a summary of the leading principles announced by the Convention: "We reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation [the Declaration of Independence] and our allegiance to the Constitution

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framed in harmony therewith. . . . We assert that no Nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home. . . . The burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions." Again: "We endorse the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, . . . and demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." "We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaraguan Canal by the United States. . . . We condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly Nations. . . . We recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. . . . Believing that our most cherished institutions are in peril, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations."

This platform, unfortunately, overlooked the then unprecedented prosperity of all the industries of the land, including that of foreign commerce, which for the two previous years had had an enormous annual average balance of trade in our favor. A resolution endorsing Mr. Cleveland's administration was rejected by a majority of 207. The "Silver Democracy" had no use for a "Gold Democrat."

The "Social Democratic" party, the outcome of the union of that organization with the "Socialist Labor" party, held its Convention at Chicago on September 29, 1900. It nominated Eugene V. Debs of Illinois for

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the Presidency and Job Harriman of California for the Vice-presidency. The distinctive object of the party is thus stated: "The party affirms its steadfast purpose to destroy wage-slavery, to abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and to establish the co-operative commonwealth. . . . The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the system of private ownership in the means of production. The Democratic, Republican, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class."

The Convention of the Prohibition party was held in Chicago June 27, 1900. It nominated for the Presidency Mr. John G. Woolley of Illinois, and for the Vice-presidency Mr. Henry B. Metcalf of Rhode Island. The platform was quite lengthy and on the usual lines characteristic of that organization.

Thus in the year 1900 an unusual number of parties under different names made nominations for the Presidency and the Vice-presidency. This fact seemed to indicate an underlying distrust, especially in respect to the financial and political principles of the two main parties of the Nation. In addition, the occasion afforded an opportunity for these dissatisfied citizens to publish to the country their various theories of government and of social problems.

The first administration of President McKinley was noted for two events of special interest—the war with Spain and the remarkable material progress of the entire Nation—both industrial and commercial. The first revealed to the world the self-contained power of the American people; and the innovation in the world of waging a war in order to relieve a people from oppres-

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sion, and then inaugurating a system to train the people thus relieved to a higher plane of civilization, self-reliance, and self-government.

The general and gradual progress of the whole Union in all its industries and business relations was uniform during that same administration, and when it ended the prospect for the future was still more encouraging. In all business circles confidence was inspired because there was no doubt but the financial measures of the general Government would remain unchanged. The interstate traffic of the Nation is estimated to be forty times the value of the foreign trade. The balance of foreign trade in our favor during the last three years of that administration averaged annually more than $417,000,000—that is, the value of our exports exceeded just so much that of our imports. This difference was paid in gold or its equivalent. We had also become in these three years a creditor nation, as our capitalists had loaned to European governments immense sums of money. This national success may be traced to the judicious financial measures of the general Government, which had been supplemented by the industrial energy and general intelligence of all our people—the latter characteristic being largely the outgrowth of our public schools and the freedom of opportunity in this favored land.

It was not strange, then, that the election of November, 1900, resulted in the re-election of William McKinley to succeed himself as President of the United States, standing as the representative of an administration of the Government which had been able to show such notable triumphs both in war and in peace.

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CHAPTER LXXVIII.

McKINLEY'S SECOND TERM.

Inauguration of McKinley and Roosevelt.—The President's Tour to the Pacific Coast.—At the Pan-American Exposition.—His Farewell Address.—His Death.—Sketch of Theodore Roosevelt.—Continuation of the Philippine War.—The War in China.—Independence for Cuba.—The Isthmian Canal.—The Alaska Boundary.—Great Coal Strike.—Our Island Possessions.—American Inventions.—President Roosevelt's First Message.—Naval and Military Power.—Gifts of Benevolence.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY, who had been reëlected by larger majorities than he received in 1896, was inaugurated President a second time on March 4, 1901. At the same time Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as Vice-President.

In his inaugural address President McKinley said: "When we assembled here on March 4, 1897, there was great anxiety with regard to our currency and credit. None exists now. Then our treasury receipts were inadequate to meet the current obligations of the government. Now there are sufficient for all public needs, and we have a surplus instead of a deficit. I have the satisfaction to announce that the Congress just closed has reduced taxation to the amount of forty-one million dollars. . . . We should not permit our great prosperity to lead us to reckless ventures in business, or profligacy in public expenditures."

His cabinet remained as it was during his first term,

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except that Attorney-General Griggs soon resigned and was succeeded by Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania.

Late in April the President set out on a tour to the Pacific coast, by way of New Orleans. In speaking at Memphis he said: "What a mighty, resistless power for good is a united nation of free men! It makes for peace and prestige, for progress and liberty. It conserves the rights of the people and strengthens the pillars of the government, and is a fulfillment of that more perfect union for which our Revolutionary fathers strove and for which the Constitution was made. No citizen of the Republic rejoices more than I do at this happy state, and none will do more within his sphere to continue and strengthen it. Our past has gone into history. No brighter one adorns the annals of mankind. Our task is for the future. We leave the old century behind us, holding on to its achievements and cherishing its memories, and turn with hope to the new, with its opportunities and obligations. These we must meet, men of the South, men of the North, with high purpose and resolution. Without internal troubles to distract us, or jealousies to disturb our judgment, we will solve the problems which confront us untrammeled by the past, and wisely and courageously pursue a policy of right and justice in all things, making the future, under God, even more glorious than the past."

An Exposition to illustrate the progress of civilization in the western hemisphere in the nineteenth century had been projected, to be held on the Niagara frontier in 1898, and in July, 1897, President McKinley drove the memorial stake on Cayuga Island, near the village of La Salle. But the war with Spain postponed the enterprise, and when it was revived the location was changed to the city of Buffalo, and there the Pan-American Exposition was held, May 1 to November 2, 1901. In its buildings and grounds it resembled the Columbian Ex-

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position that was held in Chicago in 1893, though it was on a smaller scale. The President visited the Exposition early in September, and on the 5th of that month made a speech that at once attracted attention all over the world, and has become historic as his farewell address. The following are its most significant passages:

"Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student. Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even whims of the people, and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and low prices to win their favor.

"The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we should be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated processes of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no farther advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

"The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the western hemisphere. This portion of the

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earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and, recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will coöperate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The successes of art, science, industry, and invention are an international asset and a common glory.

"After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world! Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are exchanged as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers. Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth. Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined.

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"It took a special messenger of the government, with every facility known at the time for rapid transit, nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now! We reached General Miles in Porto Rico by cable, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shots fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet had hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our capital, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe. Now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nations together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other the less occasion is there for misunderstandings and the stronger the disposition, when we have differences, to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

"My fellow-citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions

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of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability. That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

"We have a vast and intricate business built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit either of neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of the manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain, we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems that we may be ready for any storm or strain. By the sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production, we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus. A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible, it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries

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and labor. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor. The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

"If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue, or to encourage and protect our industries, why should they [reciprocity treaties] not be employed to extend our markets abroad? Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coast of the United States and South American ports. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense, they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go. We must build the Isthmian Canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

"In the furtherance of these objects of national

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interest and concern you are performing an important part. This Exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assembly of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico. Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of the earth."

This noble speech aroused the enthusiasm and commanded the admiration of every one that heard it. The President was frequently interrupted with hearty applause, and when he had finished, many came forward with an eager desire to take his hand.

The next day (Friday, September 6) the President held a reception in the Music Hall of the Exposition. Among the crowd that passed in line to take his hand was an anarchist whose right hand was bandaged as if it had been injured. The President turned his own hand to accommodate it to the fellow's left, when the cowardly assassin fired two shots from a revolver that was concealed in the bandage. The President was taken without delay to the emergency hospital of the Exposition, and skillful surgeons were in attendance. The principal wound was through the stomach, and he was almost immediately anæsthetized and subjected to a severe operation. In the three following days he appeared to be doing remarkably well; then trouble appeared, and on the eighth day (Saturday, September

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14) he passed away. While the whole nation had been watching his bedside and eagerly scanning the daily bulletins, the President himself was undisturbed. When those about him seized the assassin and appeared likely to lynch him, Mr. McKinley exclaimed "Let no one hurt him." When he was carried to the hospital, he said to the physicians, "Gentlemen, I trust you to do whatever you judge to be best." In his last hours he lay softly singing his favorite hymns—"Lead, kindly Light" and "Nearer, my God, to Thee." And when the end came he said quietly, "It is God's way—His will be done. Good-by all, good-by!" He had expressed anxiety for the effect of the news on his wife, and lest the affair should harm the Exposition; but it appeared never to occur to him to assume that his death would be a loss to the nation, or that the work of the government could not be carried on as well by others as by himself. He had fought like a hero, he had wrought like a statesman, he had lived like a Christian, and he died like a philosopher.

The body of the President was taken to Washington, where it lay in state one day, after which it was conveyed to his home in Canton, Ohio, and laid beside his parents and his children in the cemetery there.

The assassin declared that he had had no accomplices; that he alone had planned the murder. But the word of such a criminal counts for nothing, and there are strong reasons for believing that this assassination, like some others, was deliberately determined upon by a gang of anarchists, and the one to execute it was chosen by lot. Whether the lot itself is fairly cast, may be doubted, since it appears never to fall upon any leader among the anarchists, or indeed upon one that ever was heard of before.

William McKinley, when Governor of Ohio, was one of the few governors that have prevented a threat-

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ened lynching; and the disposal of his assassin was exactly what he would have approved. It would have been easy to leave him to the vengeance of the infuriated citizens. But he was carefully guarded, counsel was assigned to him, he had a speedy trial with all the forms of law, and in October he went to the electric chair in Auburn prison. His conduct when he realized the fate that awaited him was craven in the extreme—a complete collapse of every semblance of manliness.

When it was seen that President McKinley was not likely to survive many days, Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt was summoned from the heart of the Adirondack woods, where he had gone for recreation. He went in all haste to Buffalo, and reached that city before the end came. The same day that the President died (Saturday, September 14) Mr. Roosevelt, at the request of the Secretary of War, took the oath of office as President. All the cabinet, except the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy were present, and the oath was administered by Justice Hazel of the United States District Court. The new President made this declaration: "It shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley, which has given peace, prosperity, and honor to our beloved country. . . . In order to help me keep the promise I have made, I would ask all the cabinet to retain their positions at least for some months to come. I shall rely upon you, gentlemen, upon your loyalty and fidelity, to help me." The cabinet remained unchanged till December 27, when Charles Emory Smith, Postmaster-General, resigned, and Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin, was appointed to succeed him.

The same day that he became President, Mr. Roosevelt issued a proclamation in which he said: "A terrible bereavement has befallen our people. The President of the United States has been struck down—a

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crime committed not only against the chief magistrate but against every law-abiding and liberty-loving citizen. President McKinley crowned a life of largest love for his fellow-men, of most earnest endeavor for their welfare, by a death of Christian fortitude; and both the way in which he lived his life and the way in which, in the supreme hour of trial, he met his death, will remain forever a precious heritage to our people. It is meet that we, as a nation, express our abiding love and reverence for his life, our deep sorrow for his untimely death." He then appointed Thursday, September 19 (the day of the burial) as a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States.

Theodore Roosevelt is a native of the city of New York, where he was born October 27, 1858. He is the youngest man that has ever assumed the presidency of the United States, being only in his forty-third year at the time of his inauguration. President Grant, who ranked next in that respect, was forty-seven. Mr. Roosevelt is descended from a Dutch family, who were among the earliest settlers on Manhattan Island. He was not born with a vigorous constitution, and therefore addressed himself to the task, in boyhood, of building up one for himself by a course of athletic training. He appears to have succeeded admirably. He was graduated at Harvard University in 1880, with high enough standing in his class to make him a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and immediately thereafter he traveled in Europe. On his return he studied law in the office of his uncle, the Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt. His favorite reading and study, aside from his profession, was political history and natural history. He was elected to the lower house of the New York Legislature in 1882, 1883, and 1884, and became very active in that body. The earliest measures with which he was identified were those abolishing the fees as a perquisite of the office of registrar

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and county clerk, abolishing the power of the New York aldermen to reject the mayor's appointments, and enacting the civil service reform law of 1884 and the anti-tenement-cigar-factory law. He was a delegate to the national Republican convention in 1884, where he supported the claim of Mr. Edmunds to the presidential nomination. The same year he became a lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment of New York militia, in which he served four years. About this time he bought a ranch on the Little Missouri River, and from his frequent sojourns there and his hunting-trips in the Rocky Mountains he became familiar with the life of the far West. In the autumn of 1886 he was the Republican candidate for mayor of New York, and he might have been elected had not a large number of Republicans taken fright at the possibility of Henry George's election and voted for the Democratic candidate, Abram S. Hewitt, supposing that to be the only way to defeat George. As it was, Mr. Roosevelt received a larger vote than any Republican candidate for the office had received before. In 1889 President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. He is said to have added twenty thousand places to those covered by the law, and President Harrison said of his work: "If he had no other record than his service as a member of the Civil Service Commission, he would be deserving of the nation's gratitude and confidence." In the spring of 1895 he resigned that office, was appointed a police commissioner in New York, and became president of the board. His action in that capacity was most vigorous and persistent. He set himself to put a stop to blackmail and correct other abuses, and he made unexpected night visits in various parts of the city to see for himself whether his orders were obeyed. In April, 1897, he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and he retained that office till May 6, 1898, when he resigned

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it in order to take an active part in the war with Spain. With Leonard Wood as Colonel and himself as Lieutenant-Colonel, a regiment of cavalry was organized, consisting largely of cowboys from the West. This organization became popularly known as the Rough Riders, and it had a conspicuous part in the battle of San Juan Hill. When the war was over Mr. Roosevelt was made the Republican candidate for governor of New York, and he was elected by a plurality of 17,786. Two years later he was the candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. McKinley. In 1881 Mr. Roosevelt married Miss Alice Lee, of Boston, and several years after her death he married Miss Edith Kermit Carow. He has published a considerable number of books, of which the following is a list: "The Naval War of 1812" (1882); "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman" (1885); a life of Thomas Hart Benton (1887); a life of Gouverneur Morris (1888); "Essays on Practical Politics" (1888); "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail" (1888); "The Winning of the West" (4 vols., 1889–'96); "A Brief History of New York City" (1891); "The Wilderness Hunter" (1893); "American Ideals, and other Essays" (1897); "The Rough Riders" (1899); a life of Oliver Cromwell (1900); and "The Strenuous Life, and other Essays" (1901).

The war in the Philippines was by no means ended when the new President assumed office. Two causes had operated powerfully to strengthen the rebellion and enable leaders like Aguinaldo to hold their followers together in the face of repeated defeats by a numerous and determined enemy. The first of these was the action of the American commander who, on the capture of Manila, would not permit the Filipino forces to enter the city, which they were anxious to do in order to loot it and massacre their former rulers and enemies, the Spaniards. The other cause, which was much more

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powerful and appealed to a better motive, arose from the fact that in the treaty of peace with Spain the United States guaranteed the property of the monastic orders. This was one of the most perplexing questions with which the commissioners and the government had to deal. The Spanish friars in those islands had gradually, through the long years of Spanish possession, become the holders of a large part of the best lands. Not only were they landlords and employers, keeping large numbers of the natives in a state of poverty and dependence, but they had been allowed to exercise civil authority in their parishes and districts. They were rigid in the collection of church dues, and had worked together with the civilian officials in despoiling the people. This was the main cause of the rebellion against Spanish rule; the insurgents demanded the expulsion of the friars, and wherever they became masters of the situation they drove them out. It is hardly to be wondered at that when the Filipinos learned the terms of the Treaty of Paris, by which the property of the monastic orders was guaranteed to them, they should apprehend a revival and continuance of the very evils that had caused them to struggle so hard to throw off the Spanish yoke. A papal legate was sent to the islands to examine into the condition of the religious institutions, and he reported that there was necessity for reform.

After the better-educated and influential natives had accepted the situation and acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, the military authorities were able to enlist many natives in their service. Yet there appeared to be always a liability of treachery. The Macabebe scouts were the most valuable of these native auxiliaries. The local officials and leaders in the remote districts kept up their opposition to the Americans, all acknowledging the authority of Aguinaldo as President of the supposititious republic. He was captured March

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23, 1901, and carried to Manila, where he took the oath of allegiance to the United States. He then offered, on certain terms, to secure the surrender of all the insurgent leaders. But the government declined to bargain with him; and it was especially justified in doing so in view of the fact that at least once in his career he had sold out to the Spaniards. A major of his staff, who had escaped with a part of the body-guard, was captured with his party in September—thirty-one officers and men. Between June and September of that year the number of armed Filipinos that were captured or voluntarily surrendered, with their arms, was 387 officers and 4,132 men.

On June 5, 1901, William H. Taft, of Ohio, was appointed civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, and with the establishment of civil government there the administration adopted the policy of appointing natives to office when competent ones could be found. At the same time six hundred teachers were sent from the United States to establish schools in the country districts that were under civil rule.

But the work of pacification was by no means complete. In September a dangerous conspiracy was discovered in the southern provinces of the island of Luzon, and some of the native police, who had been appointed, armed, and trusted by the Americans, had joined in it. The purpose of the conspirators was to make a sudden rising and kill all the whites. Some of the native civil officials were put on trial for aiding the conspirators with information and in other ways. One insurgent officer was hanged for murdering more than a hundred Spanish prisoners. But while the institution of civil government gave opportunity for treachery of petty native officials, on the other hand it did a great deal of good by giving practical assurance to the peaceable and industrious that no harm, but only benefit, was intended in

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the new régime. Autonomous administration of law and affairs was introduced gradually—necessarily superintended largely by American officers—and when the natives saw school-houses built, roads improved, public buildings put in repair, and taxes fairly assessed and honestly collected and accounted for—in all of which they themselves had part—they realized what great good fortune the change of sovereignty had brought them. All fines that were collected for misdemeanors were expended on schools and public works. The American troops in the Philippines at this time numbered a little more than 43,000.

The Philippine archipelago is stretched across about fourteen degrees of latitude (5° to 19° N.), equal to the distance from the northern line of Vermont to the southern line of Georgia. It consists of a dozen islands of considerable size and scores of little ones. Luzon is the largest, and Mindanao the next; after which come Samar, Mindoro, Palawan, Panay, and Negros, not varying much in size, each being about as large as the State of Connecticut. The natives of these islands are not all of the same race or of the same religion, and they speak various dialects. While the principal military operations had been necessarily in Luzon, the Americans also had a separate task before them in nearly every one of the other large islands. It required four thousand troops, and operations extending through two years, to produce order and establish civil government in Panay, but this has now been accomplished. In Leyte sixteen hundred troops did it in about fifteen months. In these two islands General Robert P. Hughes commanded, and his men fought four hundred engagements—most of the operations being guerilla warfare—and constructed many good roads. He now had the island of Samar added to his command, and this presented a more difficult problem. The inhabitants of that island are Malays,

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extremely fickle and treacherous. The Spaniards never had occupied it completely. Many of the guerilla bands that had been defeated and broken up in the other islands went to Samar and joined the insurgents there, and with them went outlaws and desperate characters of all kinds. The island was very difficult for offensive military operations, as it has heavily wooded mountains, deep valleys, swamps and jungles, and at that time there were no roads. A general named Lukban managed to bring about some sort of unity and organization among the insurgents, commanded them, and conducted the campaign.

General Hughes at once entered upon the campaign. He drove the rebels from the hills overlooking the towns, and garrisoned twenty places, while gunboats ascended the streams as far as their depth would permit. Before the rainy season began, in August, he had compelled one body of five hundred insurgents to surrender and had destroyed or scattered smaller ones. It appeared as if the island had been pacified, when a peculiar piece of treachery opened the eyes of the Americans. Seventy-five men of the Ninth Infantry, commanded by Captain T. W. Connell, had garrisoned the town of Balangiga, where they were received with every demonstration of friendliness. While they were at breakfast on September 28, the native ruler of the town and some of his people visited them, and after managing to get between the soldiers and their stacked arms fell suddenly upon them, and with their bolos and rifles killed the captain and two other officers and forty-eight men. The twenty-four survivors escaped in a boat. The bodies of the slain soldiers were mutilated and burned. Some of the attacking party had rifles that the Americans had given them to enable them to protect themselves against the insurgents. A force of regulars and Macabebes was sent to Bálangiga, but the entire population of the town had fled to the mountains.

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General Hughes, with about 3,600 troops, now began a more vigorous campaign. With the gunboats on the rivers and flying columns on land, he pursued the insurgent bands relentlessly. Sometimes ambush was formed, and there were serious conflicts. In one instance a detachment of forty-six Americans was attacked on the Guadara River, and ten were killed and six wounded. Then came a reënforcement and killed more than a hundred of the rebels and put the remainder to flight. At San Antonio more than a hundred bolo-men attacked a dozen American soldiers, killing two and wounding two; but the other eight stood their ground and succeeded in killing fourteen of the enemy.

With twenty-seven vessels Rear-Admiral Frederick Rogers patroled the coast, preventing the insurgents from either leaving the island or receiving supplies. General Hughes ordered the peaceable inhabitants to go to the towns while he hunted down the outlaws, and threatened them with deportation if they concealed arms or harbored the murderous gang of Balangiga. For offenses of this kind several villages were destroyed. On a captured insurgent officer were found papers that implicated men who were holding responsible offices, under the American government, in the island of Leyte. Thereupon they were arrested, the ports of Leyte were closed, and a new insurrection in that island was prevented.

These vigorous measures had a good effect on the rebels in the island of Cebu, who became disheartened and surrendered. This disposed virtually of all the dangerous opposition to American rule in the islands; but General Chaffee expressed the opinion that, because of the wild nature of much of the country and the danger to the peaceable inhabitants from bands of robbers and guerillas, there should be no reduction of the forces in the islands before 1903. The whole number of United States troops that had been sent to the archipelago, first and

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last, was about 112,000, officers and men. The deaths from all causes were about 3,500.

On July 4, 1902, the President of the United States declared officially, in a proclamation, that the war in the Philippine Islands was ended.

The struggle in the Philippines was not over when a new and singular trouble appeared in China. There has always been a jealousy of foreigners in China, and in recent years this, with large numbers of the people, has grown into an intense hatred. One cause is the introduction of modern improvements and machinery, which they look upon as evil because calculated to throw men out of employment. Another is the jealousy of the priests, who oppose the toleration of any new religion as diminishing their own power. And perhaps the greatest of all is a fear that the European nations may attempt to take possession of the empire and divide it among themselves, as they have done with Africa. This opposition to foreigners finds organized expression in a secret society popularly known as Boxers because they practice gymnastics. The official name of the organization is I-ho-Chuan, which means League of United Patriots. Another name is Brethren of the Long Sword. The society is more than a hundred years old, and in 1803 it was prohibited by an imperial proclamation, but it has grown steadily nevertheless, and is virtually a political party. It has a sort of religious creed, which is a mixture of Buddhism and Confucianism, and its members have superstitions of their own. In 1899 they murdered two German missionaries, whereupon the German government required the execution of three of the murderers and got possession of a Chinese seaport. This created great excitement among them, large numbers of young men joined the organization in the spring of 1900, and an extensive work of slaughter was begun.

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Missionaries and their converts were the victims, and it was estimated that thirty thousand were slain. The empress, who had deposed the young emperor, and reigned in his stead, at first made a show of punishing the Boxers, but it soon became evident that this was a mere pretense. The Boxers printed and posted exciting proclamations. One of these said: "For forty years the foreigners have been turning the empire upside down. They have taken our seaports, and got possession of our revenues, and they do despite to our gods and sages. Uphold the Great Pure Dynasty, and destroy the ocean barbarians!" Another declared that the introduction of the Catholic and Protestant religions was the cause of the great drouth.

The Boxers originated on the Shan Tung peninsula, southeast of Pekin, and most of their recruits were from that province. As their numbers increased and their organization became more perfect, they advanced toward Pekin.

The foreign ministers in the capital supposed the uprising was quite as much against the imperial government as against the foreigners, and were slow to take alarm. But when the railroad to Paoting Fu was torn up, they sent to their ships in the harbor for a guard of marines to protect the legations, and four hundred and fifty marines came. The very next day more of the railroad was destroyed, communication with the coast was cut off, and the legations were besieged. For ten days the besiegers were Boxers; after that the imperial troops joined them, and before long these were more conspicuous in the attack than the Boxers. The eleven foreign legations were all on one street; and as the British legation was best suited for defense, the British minister invited all to take shelter there. The whole number—ministers, attachés, families, servants, missionaries, and teachers—was about one thousand. There

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were also about two thousand native Christians to be protected.

The besieged people strengthened their position with ramparts of sand-bags, hoarded their stock of provisions carefully, and, when the Chinese began to use artillery, constructed bomb-proofs for the women and children. About a hundred men volunteered as soldiers to act with the marines, who were constantly on guard and sometimes made sorties against the enemy. The wife of a Swiss baker, named Chamot, joined the volunteers with her husband, and used her rifle skillfully. It was understood that if the besiegers should overpower the defenders, all the women in the legations were to be killed at once by the men nearest related to them, to prevent a worse fate. The siege lasted sixty-six days, and the defenders, some of whom were killed, conducted themselves most heroically.

As soon as it was known to the great powers that their legations in Pekin were thus besieged and in danger of massacre, measures were taken for their relief. Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Japan, Italy, and the United States supplied the forces for the purpose, the American troops being drawn from the Philippines. In the harbor at the mouth of the Peiho were twenty-five warships of foreign nations, and on shore were 900 soldiers. As soon as the imperial government began to act with the Boxers against the legations and all foreigners, it sent a reënforcement of 3,000 soldiers to the forts at the mouth of the river, who began to place torpedoes in the channel. The commanders of the fleets agreed to act together, and notified the Viceroy that unless the forts were evacuated they would bombard them June 18. That day the battle was begun. The ships poured in their fire, and 1,200 men were landed for storming. The Chinese returned the fire until their main magazine was blown up; and then the storming-

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party burst in and captured the forts. One third of the Chinese garrison were killed or wounded, and the allies had lost, in killed and wounded, about a hundred men.

Meanwhile the Boxers had laid siege to the European settlements at Tien Tsin, which was twenty miles up the river. The Europeans there had about 3,000 men capable of bearing arms, who had a few machine guns but no heavy artillery. They were bombarded by the Boxers, many of their buildings were burned, and there were numerous casualties. The Russians lost about 160 men, and the British about 200. A force of 400 Russians and 150 Americans that tried to reach the city was driven back. Then a force was organized of 1,500 Russians, 380 British, 1,000 Germans, 100 Japanese, and 100 Italians, who carried with them an armored train and artillery, and in three days they raised the siege (June 23). The railroad was repaired, and the allies sent forward more men. But 10,000 Chinese regulars came down and occupied the forts and arsenals, and from them bombarded the French and English quarters of the town. The allies then planned a grand flanking movement to take the Chinese line in reverse. The American contingent was 100 marines, under Major Waller. The Japanese led the line, and the movement was successful (July 9). The Chinese were routed and those that could ran away, leaving their guns and flags. Five hundred of the Boxers were captured, and the Japanese killed nearly all of them.

Three days later, 1,200 Americans arrived from the Philippines, and the allied force was then about 10,000. The day before their arrival, there was a battle in which the Japanese lost 80 men, the French 60, and the British 18. The next day the Russians and French captured the batteries on the canal, and cleared the Chinese camps, but lost about 150 men in the operation. Then the other troops attacked the city.

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The preliminary bombardment exploded the Chinese magazine, and then the troops advanced to the gates. The hardest fighting was at the south gate, which was attacked by the Japanese, assisted by a French detachment and the Ninth United States Infantry. Slowly they pushed forward, with heavy losses, till at dusk they reached the moat, where they found that the bridge had been destroyed. In the night they made a new bridge, and in the morning they blew open the gate and scaled the walls, only to find that the Chinese had retreated toward Pekin. In this operation the allies lost 775 men. Of this loss, 18 killed and 67 wounded fell upon the Americans, and among their killed was Colonel Emerson H. Liscum, who commanded the regiment.

The Chinese capital is sixty-five miles farther up the river, and before advancing against that the commanders of the allied troops waited for reënforcements. These were promptly forthcoming. The American contingent now (August 1) consisted of 80 officers and 2,300 enlisted men, commanded by Major-General Adna R. Chaffee, a man of great energy and ability, whose military experience began with his service as a private in the Sixth Cavalry in the Civil War, from which he had risen steadily, through merited promotions, till he reached his present rank.

The march on Pekin was begun August 4. The next day there was a fight at Peitsang, in which the Chinese were defeated. And on the 6th there was another battle at Yangtun, which lasted six hours. The day was fearfully hot, and many men were prostrated by the heat. The Chinese retreated through fields of tall broom-corn and got away. In this action the Americans lost seven men killed and sixty-nine wounded, and two died from the heat. Some of these casualties were caused by the British artillery fire from the rear.

The sick and the wounded were sent down the river

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in boats, and the march was resumed—seven to twelve miles a day. A troop of the Sixth Cavalry overtook the column and joined the American contingent.

Again at Changkiawan there was a fight, in which the Chinese lost 500 men before they retreated. At Hasiwu they were constructing a trench to flood the roads and fields behind them, when the allies came up just in time to prevent its use.

At dawn, August 14, the Americans were within five miles of Pekin. The whole force of the allies was now about 39,000 men, with 120 guns; and it was agreed that the city should be assailed at daybreak on the 15th. The Russian commander, acting independently, attacked one of the gates in the night of the 14th. He blew it open, and his troops entered; but they at once found themselves subjected to a destructive fire from the walls, and retreated with a loss of 126 men. The next morning, in accordance with the plan agreed upon, the Japanese assailed one of the other gates, and the Americans came up to the assistance of the Russians at the gate they had taken and lost the night before. General Chaffee ordered his men into action at once, and Colonel Aaron S. Daggett led a scaling party through a sunken road and across a moat that was swept by fire. Two companies of infantry climbed the wall and displayed the American flag on it, while the Russians forced the gate. Then more American troops entered by the gate, and the American artillery shelled the Chinese soldiers on the walls. The British entered by the southern gate without much difficulty. The Japanese, at the Chihan gate, met with a determined resistance. Here the Chinese had the advantage of a large loopholed tower over the gate and battlemented walls on each side. The Japanese planted half a hundred guns, in a semicircle, on a hill about a mile distant, and concentrated their fire on the gate. This drove off the Chinese

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temporarily, but as often as the Japanese infantry advanced, the Chinese returned to the tower and beat them back with a hot fire. The Japanese had lost 200 men in these attempts when the Americans and the British inside the city made a diversion that enabled them to reach the gate, blow it open, and clear the tower and the wall.

Pekin is a triple city—the Chinese City, the Tartar City, and (in the center of the latter) the Imperial City. The legations were in the Tartar City, and were continuously fired upon from the walls of the Imperial City. General Chaffee therefore put guns on one of the gates and opened fire on the Imperial City. The American infantry advanced against it, and found five heavy walls between them and the imperial palace, with archways closed by massive gates. All these they blew open with artillery, and advanced in the face of a rifle fire till they reached the palace. General Chaffee then halted them, and soon withdrew them to a camp outside the Tartar City, where also the other allies encamped. It is said that an immense amount of looting was done by the British, the Russians, and the French, and a little (in defiance of orders) by the Americans. Only the Japanese refrained from it entirely.

The Catholics were still besieged in their cathedral, and the French and Russians went to their relief. Then all the troops of the allies made a movement and cleared the city of Boxers and Chinese regular soldiers. Strategic points in the suburbs were occupied also, and thus complete order was restored.

An administration was organized for the captured capital and province, in which England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States were represented; and it only remained to settle the terms of peace. When these were discussed it appeared that the Americans and Japanese were most inclined to be lenient

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toward China, and the Germans most severe. An agreement was not reached until the middle of August, 1901, and the protocol was signed September 7. The disposition on the part of some of the powers to acquire Chinese territory was held in check by the United States government. The terms of peace included these stipulations:

Some of the high officials who had encouraged the insurgents were to be exiled or imprisoned; others to be executed or required to commit suicide.

In districts where foreigners had been murdered, examinations for office and honors were to be suspended for five years.

The Chinese government was to prescribe the death penalty for membership in any anti-foreign society.

The area of the foreign legations in Pekin was to be greatly enlarged and made capable of defense, and each one to have a guard of its own nationality.

Importation of arms, or material for their manufacture, was to be forbidden for two years.

All the forts between Pekin and the sea were to be destroyed.

China was to pay an indemnity of about $337,000,000, in four-per-cent. gold bonds, to mature in thirty-nine years. And this was to be divided among the allies in proportion to the part they had taken in suppressing the rebellion. The United States received one eighth of it.

When the treaty was signed all the foreign troops, except the legation guards, were withdrawn from Chinese soil.

At the beginning of the war with Spain the United States government had distinctly disclaimed any intention of annexing Cuba, declaring that the people of that island ought to be free and independent. This pledge

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was faithfully kept. On July 25, 1900, President McKinley directed that a call be issued in Cuba for the election of delegates to a convention to frame a constitution for an independent and permanent government. This was done, and by order of the Military Governor, General Leonard Wood, the election was held on September 15, and the convention assembled in Havana on November 5. The governor told the delegates that it was their duty to frame such a constitution as would secure stable, orderly, and free government, and to formulate the relations which, in their opinion, ought to exist between the United States and Cuba; and that the United States government would then take such action as would lead to a final and authoritative agreement between the people of the two countries and promote their common interests.

The convention completed and signed the constitution on February 21, 1901. A committee was then appointed to draw up a project or treaty concerning relations with the United States. The governor gave them suggestions as to what would be acceptable to the American government, but these were not heeded. The committee presented a project, which was adopted by the convention (February 27), in which the United States was simply placed on the same footing with all other foreign powers. No naval stations were to be granted to any foreign power, and Cuba was not to serve as a basis for military operations against any power. The President had asked for such stipulations against all other powers, but not against the United States, had demanded naval stations for the United States, and had claimed the Isle of Pines as American territory.

The unexpected action of the convention in the matter of relations with the United States was met by an amendment to the Army Appropriation Bill, offered by Senator Platt, of Connecticut, and adopted by the

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Senate. This amendment authorized the President to leave the control of Cuba to its own people as soon as a stable government should be established there, which, in defining the relations between the two countries, should make these provisions:

Cuba to make no foreign treaty affecting its independence, and to allow no foreign power to colonize there or acquire military control.

Cuba to contract no debt that cannot be met, principal and interest, out of the net revenues.

The United States may intervene to preserve independence or safety of life and property, or to secure the discharge of obligations assumed by the United States in the Treaty of Paris.

All acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupation to be ratified and made valid, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder to be maintained and protected.

Cuba to maintain and extend effective systems of sanitation.

The title to the Isle of Pines to be left to future adjustment by treaty.

Coaling or naval stations to be sold or leased to the United States, at points to be agreed upon.

All these provisions to be embodied in a treaty.

Though large numbers of the business men in Cuba desired that the United States should retain even more power in the island, and not a few would have been glad of immediate annexation, the convention was loath to make the concessions demanded, and a committee was sent to Washington to argue the question, in the hope of getting some abatement. But the administration was firm in its demand, and the committee were convinced that the stipulations were in reality a safeguard for the stability of the Cuban republic. The convention adopted all the provisions of the Platt amendment

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(June 12), but only after long discussion and by a majority of only five votes. The constitution is based on that of the United States. On January 1, 1902, Tomaso Estrada Palma was elected President of Cuba; and the transfer of the government from the United States to his administration was made on May 1.

No one can look at a map of the western hemisphere without feeling regret that a narrow isthmus should separate the world's two great oceans at the point where it is most desirable for them to come together and permit the commerce of each to flow freely through to the other. The first suggestion of a ship canal through the Isthmus of Darien was made in 1600, by Samuel de Champlain, the famous French explorer, whose name is perpetuated in one of our lakes. From the appearance of a flat map, the construction of such a canal seems an easy task. But it is very different from that which the French engineers accomplished thirty years ago on the sandy isthmus of Suez. Here a mountain ridge stands in the way, making a tide-level canal practically impossible, while the peculiarity of the climate, with its heavy storms and sudden rushing floods, creates difficulties from which the best constructed lock canal never can be wholly free. When the railroad was built across the isthmus, soon after the discovery of gold in California, the loss of life among the workmen was so great, from the insalubrity of the region, that it was said each cross-tie of the road might be considered a dead man. In the nineteenth century numerous surveys were made of all the narrower portions of Central America, from Tehuantepec to the Gulf of Darien, and the practicable routes for a canal were found to be but two—one at nearly the narrowest part, where the railroad was built, from Colon to Panama, and the other near the boundary between Nicaragua and Costa Rica, passing through Lake

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Nicaragua. Concessions have been obtained for both these routes, and on the Panama route considerable work was done, and a great deal of money expended, by a French company that became bankrupt. When the war with Spain began, in 1898, the importance of such a canal was keenly realized. One of our finest battleships, the Oregon, was at San Francisco, and was wanted in the West Indies. Her commander, Captain Charles E. Clark, took her down the western coast, through the Straits of Magellan, and northward in the Atlantic to Key West, a run of fourteen thousand miles, at tremendous speed, and was ready for battle on his arrival.

Up to that time any proposal that the isthmian canal should be constructed by the United States government had met with strong opposition, on the theory that it was a mere mercantile enterprise and should be left to private capital and energy: This opposition was now hushed, and the government took up the subject. Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefote, the British ambassador at Washington, signed a treaty, February 5, 1900, for the construction of an interoceanic canal, to take the place of the articles devoted to that subject in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. In that earlier treaty it was stipulated that neither the United States nor Great Britain should obtain or hold for itself any exclusive control over a ship canal. By the new treaty Great Britain conceded to the United States the right to build and maintain the canal, and the United States undertook to preserve its neutrality and keep it open to the ships of all nations, whether in war or in peace. The Senate debated this treaty at great length, and finally passed it with important amendments. These declared that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was superseded, and that none of the stipulations of the new treaty should prevent the United States from taking any measures it might find necessary to secure, by its own forces, the defense of

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the United States and the maintenance of public order; and an article that provided for inviting other powers to join in the treaty was struck out. The British government declined to accept the treaty as amended.

Negotiations were then resumed, and on November 18, 1901, a new treaty was signed at Washington, which received the sanction of the Senate, by a vote of 72 to 6, on December 16. This was ratified by the British government, and was proclaimed February 22, 1902. The provisions of the new treaty are these:

It supersedes the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850.

It provides that the isthmian canal may be constructed under the auspices of the United States government, either directly at its own cost or by loans to individuals or corporations; and that the United States government shall have the exclusive right of regulating and managing the canal.

The United States adopts, as the basis of the neutralization of the canal, rules substantially the same as those embodied in the convention of Constantinople (1888) for the free navigation of the Suez Canal. These rules are: 1. The canal shall be open to vessels of commerce and of war, of all nations, on equal terms; and the conditions and charges shall be just and equitable. 2. The canal never shall be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised or any act of hostility committed within it; and the United States shall be at liberty to police it. 3. War vessels of a belligerent shall not receive supplies of any kind in the canal (except when it is absolutely necessary), and their transit shall be effected with the least possible delay. Prizes shall be subject to the same terms as war vessels. 4. No belligerent shall embark or debark troops or munitions of war in the canal, except in case of accidental hindrance. 5. The same rules shall apply to the waters adjacent to the canal, within three marine miles of either end.

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CHAP. LXVIII. The rules of neutral harbors also apply here. 6. Everything pertaining to the canal, for construction, maintenance or operation, shall be considered a part of it and subject to immunity in time of war.

The treaty provides that no change of territorial sovereignty, or international relations of the country traversed by the canal, shall affect its neutralization or the obligations of the contracting parties.

A commission that had been appointed to examine the route proposed for a canal reported to Congress, December 4, 1901, that to build the canal by the Nicaragua route would cost $189,864,000; and that the directors of the Panama Canal Company demanded $109,141,000 for their franchise, machinery, and work already accomplished, and it would cost $144,233,358 to complete the canal by that route. Hence the commission recommended the adoption of the Nicaragua route, as costing less by about $60,000,000. Afterward the Panama Company lowered its price to $40,000,000, and the commission then recommended that route. The choice of routes has not yet (January, 1903) been made, though the Panama route seems certain to be accepted unless the Colombian government raises insuperable difficulties. It is estimated that it will take ten years to complete the Panama Canal, or eight years to build a canal by the Nicaragua route. The length of the Panama route is forty-nine miles; that of the Nicaragua route a hundred and eighty-three miles.

Since the discovery of gold in the Klondike, a dispute has arisen concerning the boundary between Alaska and the British dominions. The American contention is that the line follows the sinuosities of the coast, being everywhere parallel with them and ten marine leagues inland; while the British (or rather Canadian) conten-

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tion is that the boundary is parallel (ten marine leagues inland) with a line that leaps from headland to headland. If this were admitted, it would give Canada control of all the water approaches to the Klondike gold-fields by the Dalton trail, the White pass, and the Chilkoot pass, and also of the Lynn canal and of Skagway and Dyea. The Canadian government, desirous of getting a deep-water harbor, offered to give up its claim to Skagway and Dyea if the United States would give it Pyramid harbor, which is the more westerly of the two upper reaches of the Lynn canal. This offer was declined, as was also the proposal of the Canadian government to submit the matter to arbitration. The United States government would not thus admit that there was any doubt as to the correctness of its interpretation of the treaty by which Russia ceded Alaska to the United States, March 30, 1867. A treaty between the United States and Great Britain had been signed on January 30, 1897, providing for the demarcation of so much of the boundary between Canada and Alaska as lies along the one hundred and forty-first meridian west from Greenwich, it being assumed that the peak of Mount St. Elias is on that meridian. At several points there were discrepancies in the results obtained by the Americans and the Canadians, and in 1900 negotiations were begun for a new survey by means of telegraphic observations. Meanwhile a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon, October 20, 1899, by which the property rights of settlers of both nationalities are protected.

The most serious labor strike in the history of the country was that of the anthracite mine-workers in 1902. These had been organized in 1899, and in 1900 had declared a strike, which was settled by an advance of ten per cent. in wages, and other concessions. In February, 1902, the United Mine-workers asked the opera-

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tors to meet them in conference March 12, and agree upon a wage scale for the ensuing year. This the presidents of the companies declined to do, and they gave their reasons. The matter was brought before the National Civic Federation, but without result. The mine-workers then asked to have the question submitted either to an arbitration committee of five, or to a Roman Catholic archbishop, a Protestant Episcopal bishop, and one other person. These propositions also were declined. On May 15 the mine-workers declared a strike, their demands being these: An increase of twenty per cent. in the pay of those who work by the ton. An eight-hour day, with no reduction of the wage, for those employed by the day. Payment by weight to be based on a ton of 2,240 pounds. The miners had previously obtained the passage of a law by the Pennsylvania legislature which forbade any man to work as a miner in the anthracite field unless he had a certificate of competence based on two years' experience as a laborer. Only about 40,000 men held such certificates, and nearly all of them belonged to the union. The whole number of men involved in the strike was 145,000. The men employed in the bituminous coal-fields refused to join in the strike. The mine-owners attempted to operate the mines with non-union labor, and declared that they could do so if their employees and their property were protected as they had a right to be. But there was serious rioting on the part of the strikers, with numerous murders of non-union men and occasional wrecking of their houses with dynamite; for all of which no one was punished, and no adequate protection was afforded to the men who chose not to be idle. After unaccountable delay, the governor of the State called out militia to suppress the disorder, but to little effect. In many instances the militiamen fraternized with the rioters. The stock of coal in the market ran very low, and prices

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EDISON IN HIS LABORATORY

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went up to more than four times the normal. In October the operators offered to submit the matter to the arbitration of a commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, to consist of an engineer officer of the army or the navy, an expert mining engineer not connected with the coal properties, a judge of the United States District Court, an eminent sociologist, and a practical miner; the findings of the commission to be binding for three years. This proposition was accepted by the mine-workers, and mining was resumed on October 23. But the mines had been practically unworked so long that there was a serious scarcity of anthracite through the ensuing winter. The President appointed the commission, of which Judge George Gray was chairman, and it convened promptly and proceeded at once to take testimony and hear arguments of counsel.

The Samoan or Navigator Islands, in the Pacific, had been guaranteed independence, at a conference signed in Berlin in 1889, by Germany, the United States, and Great Britain. But when King Maleatoa died, in 1898, there was trouble about the succession, and the kingship was abolished. In November, 1899, Great Britain renounced her claim upon the islands, all west of the meridian of 171° west from Greenwich to belong to Germany, and all east of it to belong to the United States. This arrangement, which those two powers accepted, gave Germany the two largest islands—Savaii and Upolu—but in giving the island of Tutuila to the United States it gave us the only good harbor in the group, that of Pago Pago. In fact, this landlocked harbor is the largest and best in the Pacific. The island of Tutuila has an area of 54 square miles and nearly 4,000 inhabitants. It is mountainous, well wooded, and very fertile. The other islands in the American part of the group have an area, in the aggre-

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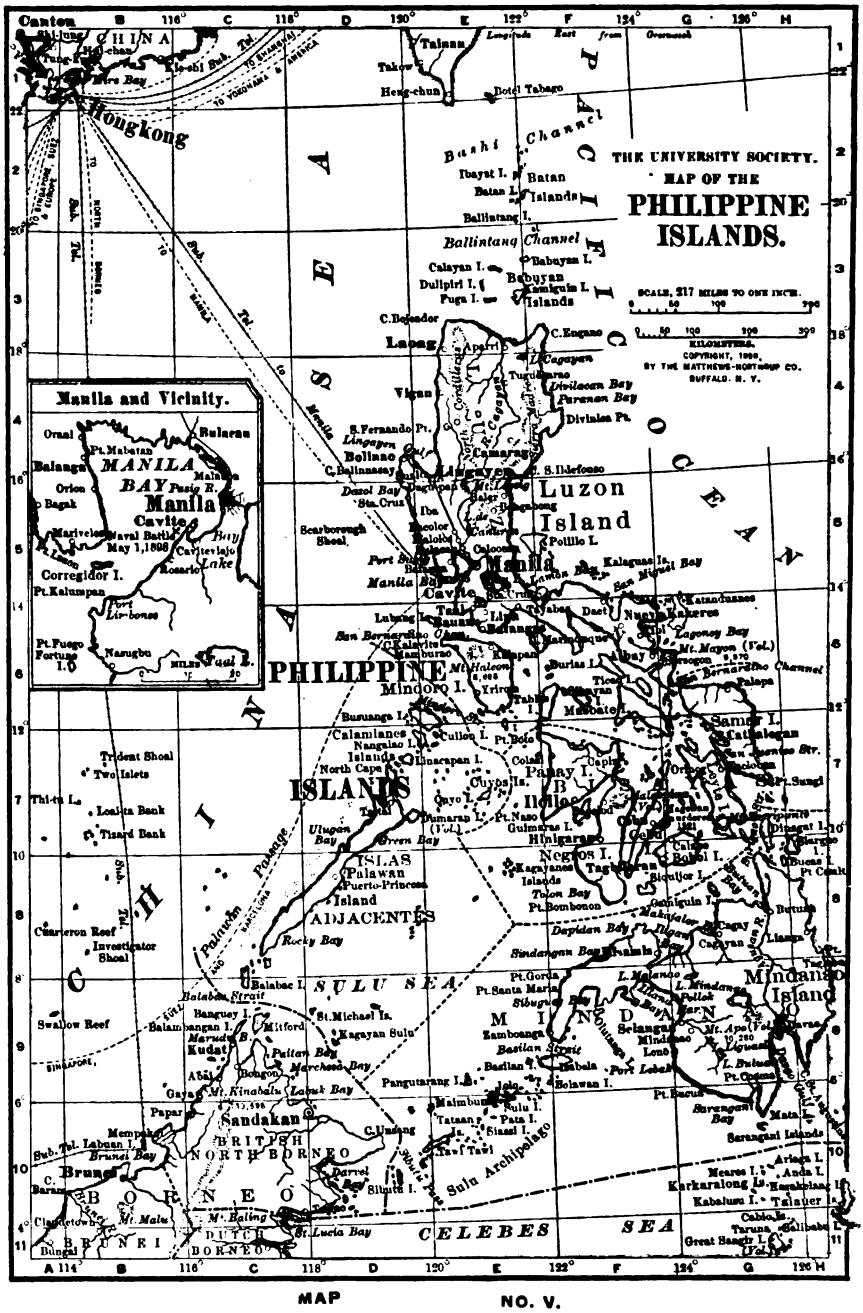
gate, of about 25 square miles, with a population of about 2,660. Civil government has been established by the Americans, but the native customs are not interfered with, nor the authority of the native chiefs.

The island possessions of the United States, not contiguous to our coasts, now include Porto Rico in the West Indies, the Philippine group, the Hawaiian group, Guam of the Ladrone group, a part of the Samoan group, and Wake Island. The last-named is an islet in the Pacific, west of the Hawaiian islands, and about half-way between them and the Ladrones, which may prove valuable as a station for an ocean cable. These island possessions have, all together, an area fo more than 140,000 square miles (almost as large as the State of Montana—or more than twice as large as the New England States), with a population of more than ten millions—about as many as New York and Massachusetts together.

The American genius for invention, which manifested itself as soon as the Patent Office was established in 1791, appears never to have ceased its activity to the present day, and never to have lacked more worlds to conquer. One of its earliest triumphs was the cotton-gin, invented in 1793, and this has been followed by the reaping-machine, now developed to an affair drawn by twenty horses, which cuts the wheat, threshes it and cleans it, and puts it into bags as it goes along; the electric telegraph, anæsthetics, the sewing-machine, the telephone, the phonograph, the perfecting-press, the grain-elevator, and the electric railway. The greatest of our living inventors is undoubtedly Thomas Alva Edison, who since the date of his first invention, an automatic repeater for the telegraph, just forty years ago, has been steadily at work with his experiments, and has perhaps produced a greater number of largely useful inventions

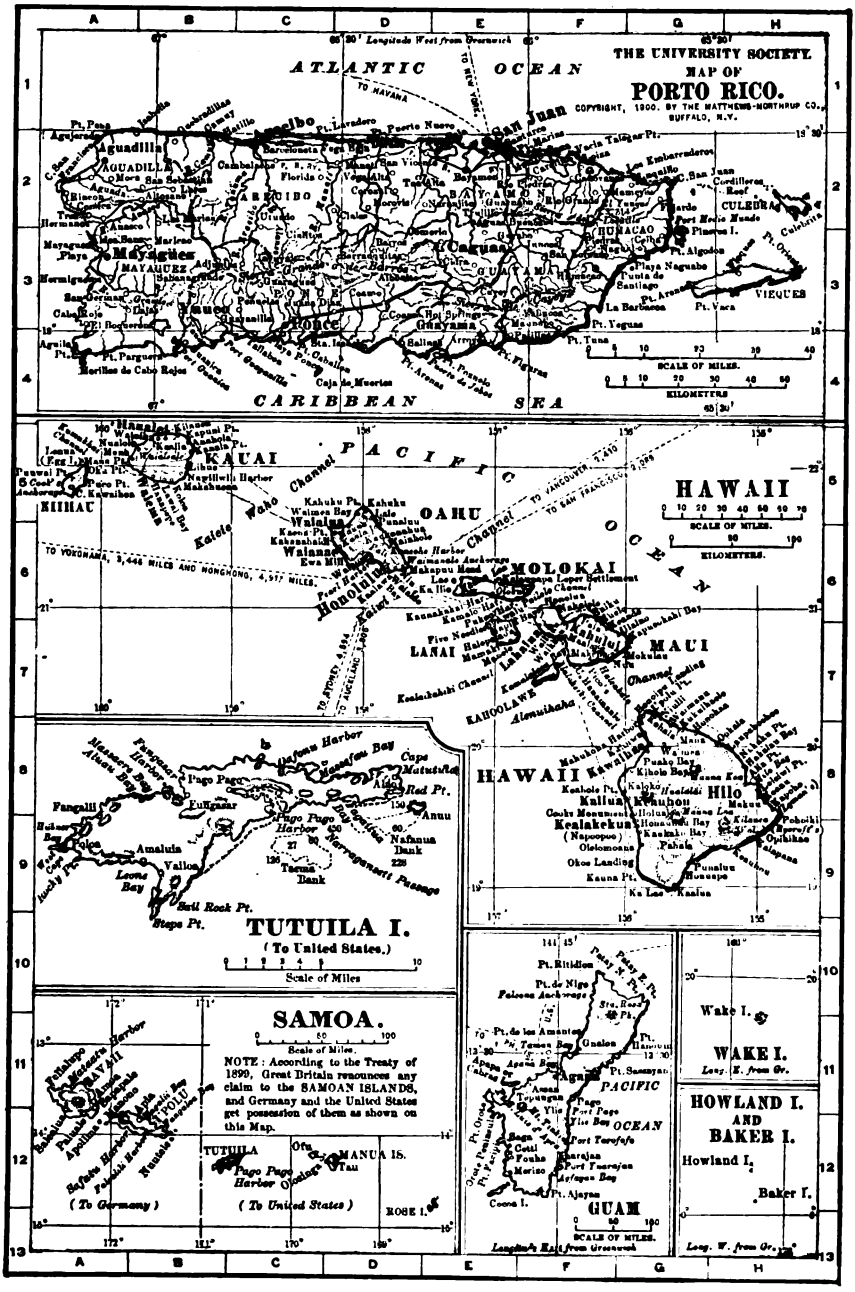
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than any man that ever lived. These include his contributions to the scheme of electric lighting, a part of the telephone, the phonograph, the kinetoscope, and, what seems most wonderful of all, sextuplex telegraphy—the sending of six messages on one wire at the same time. After all these achievements, with the inventor still in vigorous manhood, and spending his days in his laboratory, no one can tell what new thing will issue from it next.

Keeping an even step with the development of labor-saving machinery, the business development of the country, in manufactures and commerce, has astonished the world, especially in these latter years. It was an old proverb that blood could not be had from a stone; but Americans showed that at least oil may be taken from a rock, and in such enormous quantities as to kill the whale-fishery and illuminate at trifling expense the lonely cabins on the farthest frontiers. The commerce that passes the Strait of Detroit is greater than that of the Suez Canal, and the power of Niagara has been harnessed like a well-broken horse and carried many miles on simple wires. The Falls of St. Anthony, which not many years ago were but a picturesque subject for wandering artists, are now grinding wheat to feed the nations; while the great stock-yards of Chicago furnish the meat that in movable refrigerators goes to the ends of the world. And in 1901 John Pierpont Morgan, an American financier, grandson and namesake of an American poet, organized and brought into being the greatest business concern that ever existed—the United States Steel Corporation—which has a capital of more than a thousand million dollars. In the first six months of that year the railroads of the United States increased their earnings by nearly seventy million dollars. The output of steel rails that year was nearly three million tons, and of pig-iron more than sixteen million tons. The total

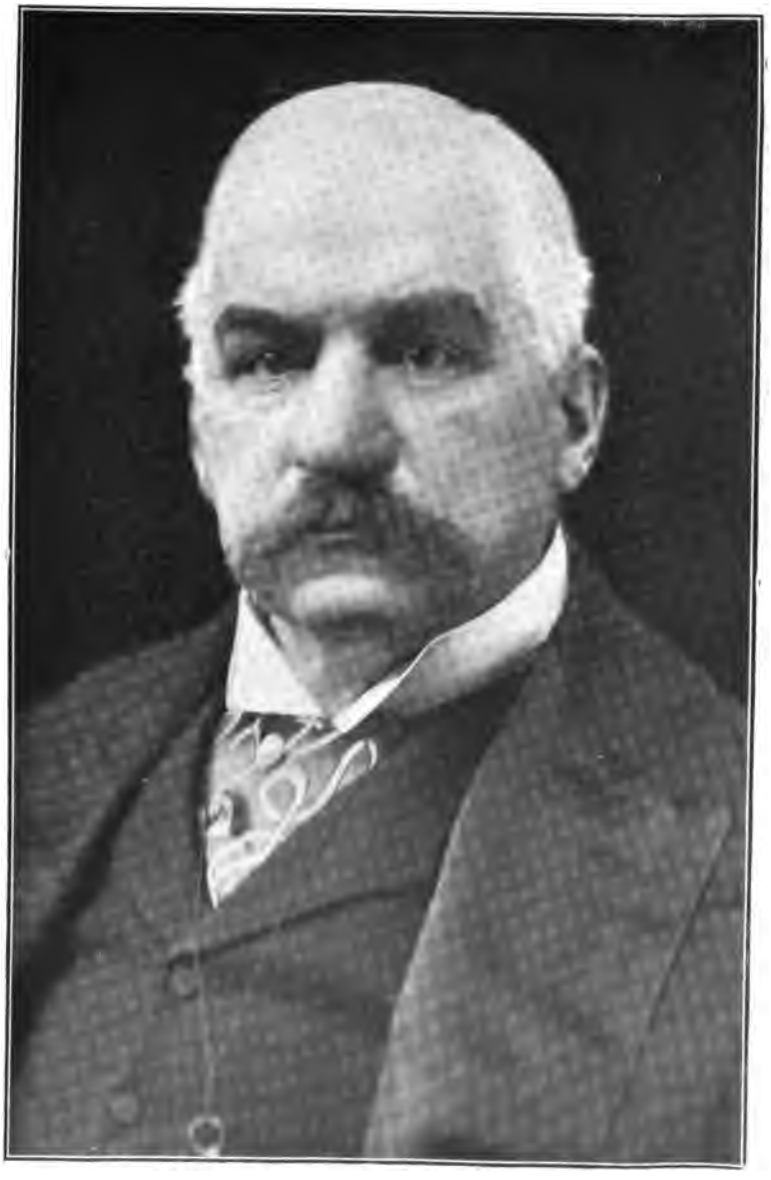
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CHAP. LXXVIII. capitalization of new industrial enterprises incorporated in that year was nearly three thousand million dollars. The wheat yield was six hundred and forty-five million bushels, and the corn crop more than twice as much. More than two hundred million dollars have been expended on irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands. The value of the merchandise exported exceeded the value of the imports by more than five hundred million dollars; and the number of immigrants that came to our shores was nearly half a million.

Such was the condition of our country, and such its vast and varied interests, when the youngest of our Presidents was suddenly called to the chief-magistracy. His first annual message made a most gratifying presentment of the condition and prospects of the Union. After paying a glowing tribute to the character of President McKinley, he discussed the danger from anarchists that come to us among the least desirable of the foreign immigrants, and said: "I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists, or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress."

He dwelt upon the fact that business confidence had been restored in the past five years and a period of abounding prosperity had begun, and then proceeded

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J. PIERPONT MORGAN

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to say of the "trusts," which were becoming a political question, "There is a wide-spread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it is therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions. The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity. In the interest of the public, the government should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in interstate business. Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke."

He recommended the creation of a new cabinet office, to be known as the Department of Commerce and Industries.

Of reciprocity, much discussed as a mitigant of tariff burdens, he said: "Subject to this proviso of the proper protection necessary to our industrial well-being at home, the principle of reciprocity must command our hearty

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support. The phenomenal growth of our export trade emphasizes the urgency of the need for wider markets and for a liberal policy in dealing with foreign nations."

The one thing in which the United States is inferior to all the great European nations is a merchant marine. This condition has existed ever since our commerce was swept from the high seas by English-built privateers flying the Confederate flag. The attention of Congress and the people has been called to this fact over and over again by our presidents and our publicists, but still it exists. The President made one more plea for a remedy, in these words: "At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or above, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing vessels and steamers alike, cargo-carriers of slow speed, and mail-carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case abroad; that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries; and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals. Our government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean."

Our forests were disappearing rapidly enough before the ax of the lumberman when an invention of doubtful value enormously increased the peril of their utter extinction. This was the making of paper from wood pulp, to feed the rapid printing-presses that turn off tens of thousands of sheets in an hour and flood every corner of the country with newspapers and cheap books. The lumberman cuts no tree that is less than eight inches

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in diameter, but the pulp-mill devours everything, devours every sapling within its reach. The subject of afforestation is coming to be one of our great economical problems. The President aptly says: "The wise administration of the forest reserves will not be less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water-supply itself depends upon the forest. In the arid region it is water, not land, which measures production. The western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country to-day if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States." And of irrigation he said: "The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage-works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood-waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual States acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved; and the resources of single States would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features."

There was a loud and continued cry—though probably not from a great number—that our Government was but practicing tyranny in subduing the Filipinos and keeping possession of that archipelago, and that it should be relinquished. On this subject the President says: "History may safely be challenged to show a single instance in which a masterful race such as ours, having been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabitants with the disinterested zeal for their progress that our people have shown in the Philippines. To leave the islands at this

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time would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous anarchy. Such desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity."

Of the much-discussed Monroe doctrine he made this declaration: "The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that 'the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.' In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere."

When Perry won his decisive victory on Lake Erie, in 1813, two of the largest vessels of his fleet had been built the winter before, at Erie, Pa., from green timber just felled in the forest. Half a century later, when our country was plunged into civil war, iron-clad gunboats, for service on the western rivers, were built in one hundred days. But so great has been the advance in naval architecture and naval gunnery that the warships of the great nations now require years for their construction and equipment. The building of our modern navy—the ships by which the pride of Spain was humbled and her flag abolished from the Western Hemisphere—was begun in 1882, and has been in progress ever since, the most powerful vessels having been built since 1892. The largest afloat is the new battleship

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Maine, launched in July, 1901, which has a displacement of twelve thousand three hundred tons and engines of sixteen thousand horse-power, can carry two thousand tons of coal, and has a speed of eighteen knots an hour. Of others that have been planned, but not yet built, some are to have a displacement of fifteen thousand tons and engines of nineteen thousand horse-power, with a speed of nineteen knots. The whole number of vessels in our navy is three hundred and five, of which all but seventeen are fit for sea service. Twenty of these are battle-ships, eight are armored cruisers, and twenty-three are protected cruisers. The others are smaller and less powerful, torpedo-boats, supply-ships, etc. Some of the protected cruisers can make twenty-three knots an hour. The largest of these ships are clad in heavy steel armor, and all are armed with improved breech-loading and rapid-firing guns. The latest experiments have been with submarine torpedo-boats, and one of these invented by —— Holland, has proved successful. Rear-Admiral John Lowe remained in it beneath the surface of the water fifteen hours, and reported that it was perfectly manageable. Attempts at this method of warfare have been made from time to time since the first years of the nineteenth century; but heretofore they have proved harmful only to their inventors and navigators.

Our navy has 1,945 officers (commissioned and warrant), and 25,228 enlisted men. The active officers comprise 1 admiral, 24 rear-admirals, and 75 captains. In addition we have a marine corps of 200 officers and 6,000 men, and naval militia in several of the States, consisting in the aggregate of more than 400 officers and 4,600 men.

The maintenance of an army is a simpler problem, since the country has proved more than once that it can quickly put into the field a vast number of volunteers who, from their superior intelligence and education,

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need but little drill to become equal to regulars. According to the act of Congress of February 2, 1901, the army now consists of 15 regiments of cavalry, 1 artillery corps, 30 field batteries and 126 companies of coast artillery, 30 regiments of infantry, 3 battalions of engineers, and an additional provisional force of 5,000 men. The total strength is about 66,000 men, of whom 3,800 are commissioned officers. The law limits the total strength to 100,000 men.

Our armament is not so vast and powerful as those of some of the European nations; but one of our most eminent citizens has called attention to the fact that it need not be, since in case of war with them we should only have to close our ports and deprive them of our agricultural products on which they so largely subsist.

The march of invention and discovery goes on steadily, and usually Americans are in the lead. The recently perfected discovery that mosquitoes are the distributors of malaria—one of the most important in the medical world—was made and published by Dr. Albert F. A. King, of Washington, as long ago as 1883.

Edison's wonderful feat of sending six messages simultaneously on one wire has been eclipsed by William Marconi, who sends them thousands of miles on no wire at all. In January, 1903, a wireless message of more than fifty words was sent across the Atlantic from the President of the United States to the King of England, and an answer of equal length was promptly returned. And still later a message was wafted through the ambient air from the United States to Italy.

The dream that began with the Montgolfiers a hundred and twenty years ago has never been abandoned. Tennyson expresses it poetically in one of his finest creations:

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RECEIVING A WIRELESS MESSAGE

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"Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunder-storm."

The art of navigating the air has not yet reached that perfection, but great advances have been made. Some of the most daring ascents have been made by American aeronauts, and the longest balloon voyage on authentic record is that of John La Mountain and three companions from St. Louis, Mo., to Watertown, N. Y., more than 800 miles, in sixteen hours. Experiments with dirigible balloons, or air-ships, have been renewed and extended in the past few years; and among the foremost inventors and experimenters is Professor Samuel P. Langley, who has been working on the problem of flight through the air by mechanical means.

With all our material progress and vast accumulation of wealth, it is gratifying to know that we are not growing sordid and penurious. There is not a country in the world that spends money so liberally for popular education, or that has developed so many ways of reaching the people with instruction and making it available to them. Nor is there one in which so much money is given from private means for public uses. For several years a careful record has been kept of the gifts and bequests of American citizens for educational, religious, and benevolent purposes. In this record no account is taken of any gift of less value than $5,000, or of the regular offerings of churches, or of legislative appropriations. In 1900 the total was $47,500,000. In 1901 it was $107,360,000. In 1902 it was $94,000,000.

When we consider that all these things are taking place in a country of more than 3,000,000 square miles, the only one that borders on both the great oceans, with

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a chain of lakes on the north and an inland sea on the south, with navigable rivers, fertile plains, and mountains filled with mineral wealth, in the north temperate zone, with a people speaking the language of the business world, and having the most popular government ever known, we may reasonably cherish a considerable pride that we are Americans.

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CHAPTER LXXIX.

ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION.

Important Treaties.—Inheritance of Property.—International Arbitration.—Articles of War.—Alaska Boundary.—Extradition.—Panama Ship Canal.

WITHIN a few years more than a dozen treaties, some of them of the highest importance, between the United States and other powers, have been ratified and proclaimed.

One between the United States and Great Britain, relating to the tenure and disposition of property inherited by a citizen of one country from a citizen of the other, was proclaimed August 6, 1900. This provides that when real property is thus inherited (or would be so inherited were it not contrary to the laws of the land where the property is situated), the inheritor shall be allowed a term of three years in which to sell the property, this term to be reasonably extended if circumstances render it necessary, and shall, be allowed to carry the proceeds out of the country exempt from any taxes or charges other than those that may be imposed in like cases upon citizens of the country from which the proceeds are drawn. And in like manner a citizen of either country may dispose by will of his personal property within the territory of the other. It also provides that in case any citizen of either country dies in the other, leaving neither known heirs nor testamentary executors, the local authorities shall inform the nearest consular officer

1900. Aug. 6.

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of the nation to which the deceased person belonged, and such officer shall have the right to appear in behalf of any absent heirs or creditors. And it is added that, in all that concerns the right of disposing of every kind of property, real or personal, citizens or subjects of each of the high contracting parties shall in the dominions of the other enjoy the rights which are or may be accorded to the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation. Most of the colonies of Great Britain—Canada being an exception—promptly acceded to this treaty.

1901. Nov. 1.

On November 1, 1901, the President proclaimed that a treaty had been entered into by the United States with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Bulgaria, Japan, Montenegro, Switzerland, Greece, Mexico, Servia, and Luxemburg for the permanent institution of an international court of arbitration. The representatives of these governments met at The Hague to formulate the rules for such a court. The representatives of the United States at this conference were Andrew D. White, Seth Low, Stanford Newel, and Alfred T. Mahan. By the articles adopted, the signatory powers were committed to these principles and rules: To use their best efforts to insure pacific settlement of international differences. In case of serious disagreement, to have recourse, before an appeal to arms, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers. That one or more powers, strangers to the dispute, should on their own initiative offer their good offices as mediators, even during hostilities. That the functions of the mediator are at an end when either party to the dispute declines the proposed means of reconciliation. That the good offices and mediation should have exclu-

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sively the character of advice and never be of binding force. That the acceptance of mediation should not delay or hinder mobilization or other preparation for war. That if mediation occurs after hostilities are begun, it shall cause no interruption of military operations in progress. The signatory powers undertake to organize a permanent court of arbitration, accessible at all times, and competent for all arbitration cases unless the parties agree to institute a special tribunal. An international bureau, established at The Hague, serves as a record office for the court. Each power is to appoint, for a term of six years, not more than four persons "of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation, and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators," who shall be members of the court. For any case that comes before the court, arbitrators are to be chosen from this list. A permanent administrative council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory powers accredited to The Hague and the Netherland Minister of Foreign Affairs, is provided for, and is charged with the establishment of the international bureau. The course of procedure in cases of arbitration is minutely set forth in several articles. The representatives of the United States, in signing the treaty, made this reservation: "Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

1903. Apr. 20. On April 20, 1903, Andrew Carnegie gave $1,500,000

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to erect a Temple of Peace at The Hague for the Court of Arbitration.

1901. Nov. 1. On November 1, 1901, the President proclaimed a treaty that had been ratified between the United States and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, China, Denmark, Spain, Mexico, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Servia, Siam, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and Bulgaria, for the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864. This provides that hospital ships shall be respected and be exempt from capture, and that the religious, medical, or hospital staff of any captured ship shall be inviolable, and its members can not be made prisoners of war.

On the same day was proclaimed a treaty concerning "the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons, and other new methods of a similar nature." It is agreed that this shall be prohibited for a term of five years. The powers that joined in this treaty were the same, with one exception, that signed the treaty described in the last paragraph. It is noticeable that Great Britain's signature is withheld from this treaty.

1902. Apr. 11. On April 11, 1902, the President proclaimed the ratification of a treaty, signed by Great Britain as well as by the powers mentioned above, to regulate the laws and customs of war on land. Some of the sixty articles of war thus adopted are identical with those long since observed. Others included these:

"The population of a territory which has not been occupied who, on the enemy's approach, spontaneously take up arms to resist the invading troops without having time to organize themselves in accordance with Article I. [with officers and a distinctive flag] shall be regarded a belligerent if they respect the laws and customs of war."

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"Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile government, but not in that of the individuals or corps who captured them. They must be humanely treated. All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property."

"The state may utilize the labor of prisoners of war according to their rank and aptitude. Their tasks shall not be excessive, and shall have nothing to do with the military operations. Prisoners may be authorized to work for the public service, for private persons, or on their own account. Work done for the state shall be paid for according to the tariffs in force for soldiers of the national army employed on similar tasks. The wages of the prisoners shall go towards improving their position, and the balance shall be paid them at the time of their release, after deducting the cost of their maintenance."

"Individuals who follow an army without directly belonging to it, such as newspaper correspondents and reporters, sutlers, contractors, who fall into the enemy's hands, and whom the latter think fit to detain, have a right to be treated as prisoners of war, provided they can produce a certificate from the military authorities of the army they were accompanying."

"A bureau for information relative to prisoners of war is instituted, on the commencement of hostilities, in each of the belligerent states, and, when necessary, in the neutral countries on whose territory belligerents have been received. This bureau is intended to answer all inquiries about prisoners of war, and is furnished by the various services concerned with all the necessary information to enable it to keep an individual return for each prisoner of war. It is also the duty of the information bureau to receive and collect all objects of personal use, valuables, letters, etc., found on the battlefields or left by prisoners who have

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died in hospital or ambulance, and to transmit them to those interested."

"Relief societies for prisoners of war, which are regularly constituted in accordance with the law of the country with the object of serving as the intermediary for charity, shall receive from the belligerents for themselves and their duly accredited agents every facility, within the bounds of military requirements and administrative regulations, for the effective accomplishment of their humane task."

"The information bureau shall have the privilege of free postage. Letters, money orders, and valuables, as well as postal parcels destined for the prisoners of war or despatched by them, shall be free of all postal duties. Gifts and relief in kind for prisoners of war shall be admitted free of all duties of entry and others, as well as of payments for carriage by the government railways."

"Officers taken prisoners may receive, if necessary, the full pay allowed them in this position by their country's regulations, the amount to be repaid by their government."

"The right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited. Besides the prohibitions provided by special conventions, it is especially prohibited:

"(*a*) To employ poison or poisoned arms;

"(*b*) To kill or wound treacherously individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army;

"(*c*) To kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down arms or having no longer means of defence, has surrendered at discretion;

"(*d*) To declare that no quarter will be given;

"(*e*) To employ arms, projectiles, or material of a nature to cause superfluous injury;

"(*f*) To make improper use of a flag of truce, the

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national flag, or military ensigns and the enemy's uniform, as well as the distinctive badges of the Geneva Convention; CHAP. LXXIX. 1864. Aug. 22.

"(*g*) To destroy or seize the enemy's property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war."

"In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps should be taken to spare as far as possible edifices devoted to religion, art, science, and charity, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not used at the same time for military purposes. The besieged should indicate these buildings or places by some particular and visible signs, which should previously be notified to the assailants."

"The pillage of a town or place, even when taken by assault, is prohibited."

"Family honors and rights, individual lives and private property, as well as religious convictions and liberty, must be respected. Private property cannot be confiscated."

"No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on the population on account of the acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible."

"The property of the communes, that of religious, charitable, and educational institutions, and those of arts and science, even when state property, shall be treated as private property."

A treaty between the United States and Guatemala, which secures to a citizen of either country the same protection for his trade-marks or trade-labels in the other country that he enjoys in his own, was ratified and proclaimed April 11, 1902. 1902. Apr. 11.

On October 17, 1902, a treaty between the United States and Great Britain concerning import duties in the British protectorate of Zanzibar was proclaimed. Oct. 17.

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CHAP. LXXIX. It provides that for a period of fifteen years the tariff on merchandise imported into Zanzibar—except for spirits, firearms, and ammunition—shall not exceed ten per cent.; that neither differential treatment nor transit duty shall be established in the protectorate; and that, not only in respect to tariffs but also in respect to all commercial interests, citizens and vessels of the United States shall enjoy the same rights, immunities, and protection that are accorded to the most favored nation.

1903. March 3. One of the most important of the treaties was that which was signed January 24, 1903, and ratified and proclaimed on the 3d of March following, between the United States and Great Britain, for a settlement of questions concerning the boundary line between Alaska and British America. That boundary was indicated with sufficient distinctness in the treaty between Russia and Great Britain concluded in 1825; and whatever rights Russia had under that treaty necessarily passed to the United States when Russia sold Alaska to us in 1867. But with the recent discovery of gold in Alaska arose in the Canadian mind a covetous desire for so much of that territory which constitutes the long, southerly extension of Alaska as would guarantee all the approaches from the sea to the gold-fields. The treaty of 1825 defined the boundary as beginning at the most southerly point of Prince of Wales Island, thence following up the inlet known as the Portland Canal, and thence northward along the crest of the mountains; providing that where the crest of the mountains should be found to be more than ten marine leagues (thirty miles) from the coast the line there should be parallel with the sinuosities of the coast and ten leagues from it. This was also clearly indicated on British maps made at that time. The Canadians set up the claim that the line should go straight from

1867. June 20.

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headland to headland, crossing some of the bays and inlets, giving Canada the ports, and producing isolated pieces of United States territory. The treaty provided that: "The tribunal shall consist of six impartial jurists of repute, who shall consider judicially the questions submitted to them, each of whom shall first subscribe an oath that he will impartially consider the arguments and evidence presented to the tribunal and will decide thereupon according to his true judgment. Three members of the tribunal shall be appointed by the President of the United States and three by His Britannic Majesty. All questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, shall be decided by a majority of all the members thereof." It also provided that the tribunal should consider the Russo-British treaty of 1825, and that: "Each party may present to the tribunal all pertinent evidence, documentary, historical, geographical, or topographical, including maps and charts, in its possession or control and applicable to the rightful decision of the questions submitted; and if it appears to the tribunal that there is evidence pertinent to the case in the possession of either party which has not been produced, the tribunal may in its discretion order the production of the same by the party having control thereof." The treaty specifically instructed the tribunal to consider and decide these questions, referring to articles in the treaty of 1825:

"1. What is intended as the point of commencement of the line?

"2. What channel is the Portland Channel?

"3. What course should the line take from the point of commencement to the entrance to Portland Channel?

"4. To what point on the 56th parallel is the line to be drawn from the head of the Portland Channel,

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and what course should it follow between these points?

"5. In extending the line of demarcation northward from said point on the parallel of the 56th degree of north latitude, following the crest of the mountains situated parallel to the coast until its intersection with the 141st degree of longitude west of Greenwich, subject to the condition that if such line should anywhere exceed the distance of ten marine leagues from the ocean then the boundary between the British and the Russian territory should be formed by a line parallel to the sinuosities of the coast and distant therefrom not more than ten marine leagues, was it the intention and meaning of said convention of 1825 that there should remain in the exclusive possession of Russia a continuous fringe or strip of coast on the mainland, not exceeding ten marine leagues in width, separating the British possessions from the bays, ports, inlets, havens, and waters of the ocean, and extending from the said point on the 56th degree of latitude north to a point where such line of demarcation should intersect the 141st degree of longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich?

"6. If the foregoing question should be answered in the negative, and in the event of the summit of such mountains proving to be in places more than ten marine leagues from the coast, should the width of the lisière which was to belong to Russia be measured (1) from the mainland coast of the ocean, strictly so called, along a line perpendicular thereto, or (2) was it the intention and meaning of the said convention that where the mainland coast is indented by deep inlets, forming part of the territorial waters of Russia, the width of the lisière was to be measured (*a*) from the line of the general direction of the mainland coast, or (*b*) from the line separating the waters of the ocean

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from the territorial waters of Russia, or (*c*) from the heads of the aforesaid inlets?

"7. What, if any exist, are the mountains referred to as situated parallel to the coast, which mountains, when within ten marine leagues from the coast, are declared to form the eastern boundary?"

The tribunal met in London, and its decision was rendered October 17, 1903. This decision was in favor of the United States on all points, except that it gave to Canada the Portland Canal, which forms the southern boundary of that portion of Alaska. The Canadians, whose eagerness for the territory had even carried them to the length of producing a false map, were disappointed by the decision and were seriously offended because one of the British commissioners, recognizing a plain case, and mindful of his oath, had voted with the Americans. 1903. Oct. 17.

Supplementary extradition treaties were concluded with Mexico, April 3, 1903, and with the Netherlands, May 31, 1904. April 8. 1904. May 31.

A treaty of friendship and general relations was concluded with Spain, April 30, 1903, reëstablishing the conditions that existed before the war of 1898. 1903. Apr. 30.

A treaty for the construction of the proposed Panama ship canal by the United States was signed on January 22, 1903, and was ratified by the United States Senate on March 17, the vote being 73 to 5. But the Colombian Senate rejected it August 17, and two months later proposed a new treaty that involved the payment to Colombia by the United States of $25,000,000. It was evident that the Colombian Government was simply playing fast and loose in order to get as much money as possible for a concession that would be an actual advantage to that country. This, together with other grievances, incensed the people of the State of Panama to the point of insurrec- Jan. 22. Aug. 17.

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tion, and when it appeared that the uprising was successful, and the Republic of Panama was proclaimed November 3, the United States Government three days later recognized it as an independent power. On the 18th of that month Secretary Hay and Mr. Bunau-Varilla, Panama's minister at Washington, signed a new treaty for the isthmian canal, which was ratified and proclaimed February 26, 1904. Meanwhile Colombia had offered to make a canal concession to the United States free of cost if the United States would permit the subjugation of Panama. By the new treaty the United States guarantees to maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama; and the general concession is in these words:

Nov. 3.

Nov. 18.

1904. Feb. 26.

"The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of a zone of land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of said canal of the width of ten miles, extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the centre line of the route of the canal to be constructed; the said zone beginning in the Caribbean Sea, three marine miles from mean low-water mark, and extending to and across the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific Ocean to a distance of three marine miles from mean low-water mark, with the proviso that the cities of Panama and Colon and the harbors adjacent to said cities, which are included within the boundaries of the zone above described, shall not be included within this grant. The Republic of Panama further grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of any other lands and waters outside of the zone above described which may be necessary and convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the said canal or of any auxiliary canals, or other works necessary and con-

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venient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the said enterprise. The Republic of Panama further grants in like manner to the United States in perpetuity all islands within the limits of the zone above described and in addition thereto the group of small islands in the Bay of Panama, named Perico, Naos, Culebra, and Flamenco. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power, and authority within the zone mentioned and described in Article II. of this agreement, and within the limits of all auxiliary lands and waters mentioned and described in said Article II. which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory within which said lands and waters are located, to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

The treaty also gives to the United States the use of all streams and lakes that may be necessary, in connection with the canal for navigation, power, or sanitation, and also a monopoly for the construction and operation of any system of communication, by canal or railroad, across the isthmus from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean. The rights of policing and sanitation are specifically granted. The Republic of Panama transfers to the United States all rights or proprietorship that it may have in the property of the New Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company, and authorizes those companies to grant or sell their properties and privileges to the United States. The United States agrees to pay to the Republic of Panama $10,000,000 in gold on the ratification of the treaty, and $250,000 a year thereafter, beginning nine years after the ratification. Any disputes that may arise are to be referred to a joint commission. The United

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States paid the Canal Company $40,000,000 for its property and franchise.

The importance of a ship canal by means of which both war vessels and merchant craft may be passed, through United States territory exclusively, from the ocean to the Great Lakes, has been often urged upon legislators. In 1903 the Legislature of New York passed a bill, subject to popular approval, appropriating $101,000,000 for enlargement of the Erie Canal, and the action was ratified at the polls in the succeeding election. This, indeed, only contemplates a widening and deepening, with some changes of route, to make a barge canal; but it is looked upon as a step toward the construction of a ship canal which is supposed to be one of the certainties of the future.

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CHAPTER LXXX.

ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The Presidential Election of 1904.—Chief Declarations of the Platforms.—The Result Compared.—Principal Topics of the Annual Message.—Labor and Capital.—Trusts.—Immigration and Citizenship.—The Agricultural Department and its Work.—Establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor.—Growth of Cities.—Reciprocity with Cuba.—The Pacific Cable.—The Mormon Question.

THE most important event of the year 1904 was the Presidential election. The platform of the Republican party recalled the fact that the party was now exactly half a century old, and that in the forty-four years since its first triumph by the election of Abraham Lincoln it had had complete control of the Government twenty-four years, and partial control for eighteen more, and reasoned that this was not due to chance, but was a demonstration that the party had commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equalled in our history, because it had displayed a high capacity for government, "which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents." It reminded the public that it had made protection of home industries the national policy, had established the gold standard, and had so established the public credit that even in time of war the Government was able to borrow money at two per cent. It claimed credit for the enterprise of an isthmian canal,

1904. June 22.

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the irrigation of arid lands at the West, the reorganization of the army, the improvement of the militia, and the steady increase of the navy. On the much-debated subject of the "trusts" it made this declaration:

"Laws enacted by the Republican party, which the Democratic party failed to enforce, and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operations of great corporations, and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates, have been passed by a Republican Congress. We promise to continue these policies."

Its other declarations included these:

"We insist upon the maintenance of the principle of protection, and therefore rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration; but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declares the protective tariff unconstitutional or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system."

"We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension, including commercial reciprocity wherever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor, or any American industry."

"The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption

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and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it."

"We favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the Merchant Marine Commission to investigate and report upon this subject."

"We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction."

The newest and most radical declaration was this:

"We favor such Congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such is the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral college shall be proportionally reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States."

On the subject of trusts of all kinds it made this declaration:

"Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age; but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations, when lawfully formed for lawful purposes, are alike entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws, and neither can be permitted to break them."

The platform then paid a high tribute to the character of President McKinley, and recited the acts of President Roosevelt's administration.

The Convention unanimously nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President, with Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

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1904. July 8.

The platform adopted by the Democratic National Convention contained these declarations:

"Large reductions can easily be made in the annual expenditures of the Government without impairing the efficiency of any branch of the public service, and we shall insist upon the strictest economy and frugality compatible with vigorous and efficient civil, military, and naval administration as a right of the people too clear to be denied or withheld."

"We favor the enforcement of honesty in the public service, and to that end a thorough legislative investigation of those executive departments of the government already known to teem with corruption, as well as other departments suspected of harboring corruption, and the punishment of ascertained corruptionists."

"We condemn the action of the Republican party in Congress in refusing to prohibit an executive department from entering into contracts with convicted trusts or unlawful combinations in restraint of interstate trade."

"We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now, and upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent, to work out their own destiny."

"We denounce protectionism as a robbery of the many to enrich the few; and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the Government economically, effectively, and constitutionally administered, and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class, or section."

"We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor,

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and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity."

"We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt."

"We favor liberal appropriations for the care and improvement of the waterways of the country."

"We favor the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people."

"We favor the admission of the Territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory. We also favor the immediate admission of Arizona and New Mexico as separate States."

"We demand the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the complete separation of Church and State in political affairs."

"We denounce the ship-subsidy bill recently passed by the United States Senate as an iniquitous appropriation of public funds for private purposes. We favor the upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury."

"We favor liberal trade arrangements with Canada and with peoples of other countries where they can be entered into with benefit to American agriculture, manufactures, mining, or commerce."

"We favor the reduction of the army and of army expenditures to the point historically demonstrated to be safe and sufficient."

"We deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like, selfish, and narrow spirit of the recent Republican Convention at Chicago, which sought to enkindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it

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to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people." This refers to that paragraph in the Republican platform which demands that representation in Congress and in the electoral college be proportionally reduced in those States that limit the franchise.

The Convention nominated Alton Brooks Parker, a judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, for President, and Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia, for Vice-President. Before it adjourned, Judge Parker addressed to it a telegram declaring his belief that the gold standard had been made irrevocable.

1904. July 4.

The People's party offered a platform that called for postal savings banks; abolition of child labor and of convict labor; a shorter work day; the initiative and referendum; prohibition of alien ownership of land; government ownership of railroads and telegraphs; abolition of "government by injunction"; and suppression of trusts and monopolies.

Thomas L. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated for President.

There were nominations also by the Prohibition party, the Socialist party, and the Social Labor party.

The campaign was quiet in comparison with some of recent years. In the latter part of it Judge Parker went into the field as a speaker, in the face of the fact that no Presidential candidate that has done so has been successful in the election. The result was that Roosevelt carried all the States except the solid South, receiving 336 electoral votes to 140 for Parker. The total popular vote was smaller by 460,078 than in 1900, the falling off being almost entirely in the Southern States. Roosevelt received 7,627,632 of the popular vote, and Parker 5,080,054. Roosevelt's majority over all was 1,746,768. The Socialist ticket, headed by Eugene V. Debs, received 391,587 votes; the Prohibi-

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tion, 260,303; the People's party, 114,637; and the Social Labor, 33,453. CHAP. LXXX.

The only Presidential elections that resembled this in the overwhelming nature of the victory were those of Monroe in 1820, Pierce in 1852, and Lincoln in 1864. The reasons for this result that were generally agreed upon were, that no important issue was sharply set forth between the two great parties; that many voters, mindful of the present prosperity of the country, were unwilling to risk a change; and that a large portion of the Democratic party still favored free coinage of silver and were not pleased with the repudiation of this principle by the Convention.

1904. Dec. President Roosevelt's message, on the opening of Congress in December, 1904, was received with general favor at home and with marked commendation abroad, as a clear, honest, and temperate discussion of living issues. Perhaps the most important of these, the one that most urgently calls for settlement, is that of the true, final, and amicable relation between capital and labor. If this vital question is capable of a satisfactory settlement, it would seem that our free and enlightened country offers the most promising field in which to seek that solution. The President, in his message, thus discussed it.

"In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern civilized life the dominant note is the note of industrialism; and the relations of capital and labor, and especially of organized capital and organized labor, to each other and to the public at large, come second in importance only to the intimate questions of family life. Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the nation and the several States, has been on the whole far more advantageous to our development than a more strongly centralized government. But it is undoubtedly respon-

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sible for much of the difficulty of meeting with adequate legislation the new problems presented by the total change in industrial conditions on this continent during the last half century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult, and in many cases impossible, to get unanimity of wise action among the various States on these subjects. From the very nature of the case, this is especially true of the laws affecting the employment of capital in huge masses. With regard to labor the problem is no less important, but it is simpler. As long as the States retain the primary control of the police power the circumstances must be altogether extreme which require interference by the Federal authorities, whether in the way of safeguarding the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that wrong is not done by unruly persons who shield themselves behind the name of labor. If there is resistance to the Federal courts, interference with the mails or interstate commerce, or molestation of Federal property, or if the State authorities in some crisis which they are unable to face call for help, then the Federal Government may interfere; but though such interference may be caused by a condition of things arising out of trouble connected with some question of labor, the interference itself simply takes the form of restoring order without regard to the questions which have caused the breach of order—for to keep order is a primary duty, and in a time of disorder and violence all other questions sink into abeyance until order has been restored. In the District of Columbia and in the Territories the Federal law covers the entire field of government; but the labor question is only acute in populous centres of commerce, manufactures, or mining. Nevertheless, both in the enactment and in the enforcement of law the Federal Government within its restricted sphere should set an example

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to the State governments, especially in a matter so vital as this affecting labor.

"I believe that under modern industrial conditions it is often necessary, and even where not necessary it is yet often wise, that there should be organization of labor in order better to secure the rights of the individual wage-worker. All encouragement should be given to any such organization, so long as it is conducted with a due and decent regard for the rights of others. There are in this country some labor unions which have habitually, and other labor unions which have often, been among the most effective agents in working for good citizenship and for uplifting the condition of those whose welfare should be closest to our hearts. But when any labor union seeks improper ends or seeks to achieve proper ends by improper means, all good citizens, and more especially all honorable public servants, must oppose the wrong-doing as resolutely as they would oppose the wrong-doing of any great corporation. Of course, any violence, brutality, or corruption should not for one moment be tolerated. Wage-workers have an entire right to organize, and by all peaceful and honorable means to endeavor to persuade their fellows to join with them in organizations. They have a legal right, which, according to circumstances, may or may not be a moral right, to refuse to work in company with men who decline to join their organizations. They have under no circumstances the right to commit violence upon those, whether capitalists or wage-workers, who refuse to support their organizations, or who side with those with whom they are at odds, for mob rule is intolerable in any form.

"There is no objection to employés of the Government forming or belonging to unions, but the Government can neither discriminate for nor discriminate against non-union men who are in its employment or

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who seek to be employed under it. Moreover, it is a very grave impropriety for Government employés to band themselves together for the purpose of extorting improperly high salaries from the Government. Especially is this true of those within the classified service. The letter-carriers, both municipal and rural, are as a whole an excellent body of public servants. They should be amply paid. But their payment must be obtained by arguing their claims fairly and honorably before the Congress, and not by banding together for the defeat of those Congressmen who refuse to give promises which they cannot in conscience give. The administration has already taken steps to prevent and punish abuses of this nature, but it will be wise for the Congress to supplement this action by legislation."

Closely allied to this subject—indeed a part of it—is that of the restraint within proper bounds of great corporations, commonly called "trusts," which strive to crush out the competition of small producers or dealers in their respective lines. These have incurred an intense popular hatred, perhaps in some instances more than they deserve, and every political convention declares against them. The President thus sets forth his idea of the proper way to deal with the problem:

"When we come to deal with great corporations the need for the Government to act directly is far greater than in the case of labor, because great corporations can become such only by engaging in interstate commerce, and interstate commerce is peculiarly the field of the General Government. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great corporations by State action. It is difficult to be patient with an argument that such matters should be left to the States, because more than one State pursues the policy of creating on easy terms corporations which are never operated within that State at all, but in other States, whose laws they

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ignore. The National Government alone can deal adequately with these great corporations. To try to deal with them in an intemperate, destructive, or demagogic spirit would in all probability mean that nothing whatever would be accomplished, and, with absolute certainty, that if anything were accomplished it would be of a harmful nature. The American people need to continue to show the very qualities that they have shown—that is, moderation, good sense, the earnest desire to avoid doing any damage, and yet the quiet determination to proceed, step by step, without halt and without hurry, in eliminating, or, at least, in minimizing, whatever of mischief or of evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in no spirit of hostility to wealth, either individual or corporate. They are not against the rich man any more than against the poor man. On the contrary, they are friendly alike toward rich man and toward poor man, provided only that each acts in a spirit of justice and decency toward his fellows. Great corporations are necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards. But these corporations should be managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole.

"Yet we must never forget the determining factor in every kind of work, of head or hand, must be the man's own good sense, courage, and kindliness. More important than any legislation is the gradual growth of a feeling of responsibility and forbearance among capitalists and wage-workers alike: a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves and of wage-workers among themselves, but of capitalists and wage-workers

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in their relations to each other and of both in their relation to their fellows who with them make up the body politic. There are many captains of industry, many labor leaders, who realize this.

"The Bureau of Corporations has made careful preliminary investigation of many important corporations. It will make a special report on the beef industry. The policy of the bureau is to accomplish the purposes of its creation by coöperation, not antagonism; by making constructive legislation, not destructive prosecution, the immediate object of its inquiries; by conservative investigation of law and fact, and by refusal to issue incomplete and hence necessarily inaccurate reports. Its policy being thus one of open inquiry into, and not attack upon, business, the bureau has been able to gain not only the confidence, but, better still, the coöperation of men engaged in legitimate business. The bureau offers to the Congress the means of getting at the cost of production of our various great staples of commerce.

"Of necessity the careful investigation of special corporations will afford the commissioner knowledge of certain business facts the publication of which might be an improper infringement of private rights. The method of making public the results of these investigations affords under the law a means for the protection of private rights. The Congress will have all facts except such as would give to another corporation information which would injure the legitimate business of a competitor and destroy the incentive for individual superiority and thrift.

"The bureau has also made exhaustive examinations into the legal condition under which corporate business is carried on in the various States, into all judicial decisions on the subject and into the various systems of corporate taxation in use. I call special

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attention to the report of the chief of the bureau, and I earnestly ask that the Congress carefully consider the report and recommendations of the commissioner on this subject."

The most notable thing thus far accomplished in the way of preventing the formation of a great monopoly was regarding the merger of the Northern Securities Company. It was planned to merge in one company the proprietorship of two great competing trunk lines of railway. By direction of the President, the Attorney-General brought the resources of his office to bear upon the case and defeated the project. On April 9, 1903, the United States Court of Appeals declared the merger to be illegal.

1903. April 9.

Another subject that has created grave apprehension in the minds of many citizens, and has called for serious discussion and action by Congress, is that of immigration. Virtually, the ports of the United States have always been open to European immigration of every class that could not be proved indisputably to be either criminal or pauper. It cannot be denied that this gives rise to great dangers, nor that these dangers are greater now when the heavy flood of immigration comes from southern Europe instead of, as formerly, from the northern countries of that continent. A fact that increases the danger is the crowding of these immigrants mainly in the cities. It is seriously held by some thoughtful and patriotic citizens that all immigration should be prohibited for a period of ten or fifteen years, till those new citizens already here can be educated into familiarity with our laws and way of life. The President in his message took a somewhat different view. He said:

"In dealing with the questions of immigration and naturalization, it is indispensable to keep certain facts ever before the minds of those who share in enacting

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the laws. First and foremost, let us remember that the question of being a good American has nothing whatever to do with a man's birthplace any more than it has to do with his creed. In every generation from the time this Government was founded men of foreign birth have stood in the very foremost rank of good citizenship, and that not merely in one but in every field of American activity; while to try to draw a distinction between the man whose parents came to this country and the man whose ancestors came to it several generations back is a mere absurdity. Good Americanism is a matter of heart, of conscience, of lofty aspiration, of sound common sense, but not of birthplace or of creed. The medal of honor, the highest prize to be won by those who serve in the army and the navy of the United States, decorates men born here, and it also decorates men born in Great Britain and Ireland, in Germany, in Scandinavia, in France, and doubtless in other countries also. In the field of statesmanship, in the field of business, in the field of philanthropic endeavor, it is equally true that among the men of whom we are most proud as Americans no distinction whatever can be drawn between those who themselves or their parents came over in sailing ship or steamer from across the water and those whose ancestors stepped ashore into the wooded wilderness at Plymouth or at the mouth of the Hudson, the Delaware, or the James nearly three centuries ago. No fellow citizen of ours is entitled to any peculiar regard because of the way in which he worships his Maker, or because of the birthplace of himself or his parents, nor should he be in any way discriminated against therefor. Each must stand on his worth as a man and each is entitled to be judged solely thereby.

"There is no danger of having too many immigrants of the right kind. It makes no difference

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from what country they come. If they are sound in body and in mind, and, above all, if they are of good character, so that we can rest assured that their children and grandchildren will be worthy fellow citizens of our children and grandchildren, then we should welcome them with cordial hospitality. But the citizenship of this country should not be debased. It is vital that we should keep high the standard of well-being among our wage-workers, and therefore we should not admit masses of men whose standards of living and whose personal customs and habits are such that they tend to lower the level of the American wage-worker; and above all we should not admit any man of an unworthy type, any man concerning whom we can say that he will himself be a bad citizen, or that his children and grandchildren will detract from instead of adding to the sum of good citizenship of the country. Similarly we should take the greatest care about naturalization. Fraudulent naturalization, the naturalization of improper persons, is a curse to our Government; and it is the affair of every honest voter, wherever born, to see that no fraudulent voting is allowed, that no fraud in connection with naturalization is permitted.

"In the past year the cases of false, fraudulent, and improper naturalization of aliens coming to the attention of the executive branches of the Government have increased to an alarming degree. Extensive sales of forged certificates of naturalization have been discovered, as well as many cases of naturalization secured by perjury and fraud; and in addition, instances have accumulated showing that many courts issue certificates of naturalization carelessly and upon insufficient evidence.

"Under the Constitution it is in the power of Congress 'to establish a uniform rule of naturalization,'

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and numerous laws have from time to time been enacted for that purpose, which have been supplemented in a few States by State laws having special application. The Federal statutes permit naturalization by any court of record in the United States having common-law jurisdiction and a seal and clerk, except the police court of the District of Columbia, and nearly all these courts exercise this important function. It results that where so many courts of such varying grades have jurisdiction, there is lack of uniformity in the rules applied in conferring naturalization. Some courts are strict and others lax. An alien who may secure naturalization in one place might be denied it in another, and the intent of the constitutional provision is in fact defeated. Furthermore, the certificates of naturalization issued by the courts differ widely in wording and appearance, and when they are brought into use in foreign countries are frequently subject to suspicion.

"There should be a comprehensive revision of the naturalization laws. The courts having power to naturalize should be definitely named by national authority; the testimony upon which naturalization may be conferred should be definitely prescribed; publication of impending naturalization applications should be required in advance of their hearing in court; the form and wording of all certificates issued should be uniform throughout the country, and the courts should be required to make returns to the Secretary of State at stated periods of all naturalizations conferred."

1889. The establishment of the Agricultural Department, in 1889, proved to be of great value to the country. By 1904 the foreign trade had been expanded to such an extent that $600,000,000 worth of vegetable products and $250,000,000 worth of animals or animal products were exported annually, and the trade was still growing.

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The wise policy of giving Government assistance in the line of botanical and agricultural education was begun forty years earlier, when extensive grants of public land were made for the purpose of founding agricultural colleges in the several States. In 1904 these institutions had more than five thousand students. At the same time the Department of Agriculture had two thousand specialists making researches in all branches of the science of production. Not only are the effects of soils and climates upon crops studied and recorded, but by minute and patient examination the scientists are able to make themselves familiar with the character and habits of the many insects that affect valuable plants, both those that destroy and those that are necessary for fertilization. Remedies are sought and often found for the ravages of the destructive insects. Thus the most serious of these evils is the boll-weevil, which has threatened to destroy the entire cotton crop. This insect came from Central America, being accidentally introduced into Texas. But one of the Department's scientists found in Guatemala an ant that destroys the weevil. The pest of the orchards was that known as the San José scale; but a scientist found near the great wall in China an insect that destroys the scale, and this, being imported into the United States, is restoring the orchards to their natural health and productiveness. The orange and lemon growers have had to contend with another difficulty known as the black scale; but from South Africa has been obtained a fly that conquers this enemy. The new industry of raising figs in California could not have been successful but for the importation of a fertilizing insect from Turkey. The raising of silkworms has been tried in this country several times, but never with much success. Now, with the help of the Department in importing eggs and improved reels, together with expert operatives,

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it is likely to succeed. New varieties of grains, grasses, and fruits are being brought from the remotest corners of the earth, to be tried by our farmers and horticulturists. And this is not done at random, but with appropriate care. Among the new fruits now raised in the country are almonds, dates, and mangoes. For seeding some of the comparatively arid lands at the far West, grains were brought from countries where the rainfall is slight, and this experiment proved highly successful. The Department also guards against the importation or exportation of diseased animals, and inspects meats, etc. Crop reports are obtained from 250,000 persons, and exchanges of crop estimates are made with European countries, so that the farmers may know what to expect in the way of competition. For all this the Government spends about $10,000,000 a year, and the tendency is to make agriculture, usually one of the poorest occupations, one of the best.

Closely allied to this work was the great advance in irrigation and forestry. The Government's irrigation works, for the arid lands of the West, were placed in the charge of the most competent engineers. At the same time the plan of forest reserves on the public lands will not only preserve the supply of timber from reckless destruction but hold the rainfall for gradual spread and use through the streams. These measures will ultimately cover with comfortable homesteads the vast area that used to appear on the maps as The Great American Desert.

A new department of the Federal Government, designated as the Department of Commerce and Labor, was created by a law which the President signed on
1903. Feb. 14. February 14, 1903. This adds another member to the Cabinet. George B. Cortelyou was the first incumbent of the new Secretaryship.

The clause in the new Constitution of Alabama

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which disfranchises colored men was sustained by a decision of the United States Supreme Court, April 27, 1903.

1903. Apr. 27.

The cities have maintained their usual steady growth, which appears to be the universal law, but for some reasons is to be deplored. Three of our largest cities have had notable events. New York, which had been confined to the island of Manhattan, was expanded into what is popularly called Greater New York. This includes Staten Island, a considerable territory north of Harlem River, Brooklyn, Long Island City, and a portion of Queens County. The five portions are called the Boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Richmond, Queens, and the Bronx. The constantly increasing congestion of travel within the city called for additional means of rapid transit, and a subway, with four tracks, was constructed on the island of Manhattan and opened for travel late in 1904. And immediately work was begun for extending this work to Brooklyn by means of a tunnel under the East River.

Chicago, now the second city in point of population, celebrated, from September 26 to October 1, 1903, the hundredth anniversary of the first settlement on its site.

1904. Apr. 30 to Dec. 1.

The hundredth anniversary of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory was commemorated by a world's fair at St. Louis, in the summer of 1904. This exposition, in its main features, closely resembled the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, but was more extensive.

A reciprocity treaty with Cuba was ratified by the Cuban Senate on March 11, 1903, and by the United States Senate March 19, and a bill in accordance therewith was passed by the House of Representatives November 19. Meanwhile, July 2, Cuba ceded to the

1903. Nov. 19.

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United States two naval stations and the government of the Isle of Pines. The question of control of this island, which lies off the southwestern coast of Cuba, had been in abeyance since the Spanish war.

A treaty had been negotiated between the United States and Denmark for the cession of the small islands in the West Indies that belong to the latter country; but the time for its ratification expired July 24, 1903, and so the treaty failed.

1903. July 4. The laying of an American cable across the Pacific Ocean was completed on July 4, 1903. The route of this cable is from San Francisco to Honolulu, thence to Midway Island, which is northwest by west from the Hawaiian Islands, thence to Guam, and thence to the Philippines. The first message was sent by President Roosevelt to Governor Taft in the Philippines. Then the President sent another message to be carried around the world by cable. This occupied twelve minutes—about two thousand miles a minute.

The troublesome Mormon question, which has compelled the attention of the Government at frequent intervals for more than half a century, came up again in Congress in December, 1904. Reed Smoot had been elected United States Senator from Utah in 1903 and admitted. The question of unseating him was raised on the charge that the Mormon Church had interfered in the elections, holding its authority over its members, in civil as well as ecclesiastical matters, to be superior to that of the National Government and laws. Men high in office in the Mormon Church were called as witnesses, and testified before the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Most of them took a defiant tone and boldly admitted that they were living in polygamous relations with plural wives and intended to continue so. Mrs. Annie Elliot, who was formerly a member of the Mormon Church, but left it in 1897, testified

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before the Committee. She told how she had taken what are called the "endowments," which include obedience to the priesthood, sacrifice to the church, and oaths of vengeance. By the latter she was to "pray without ceasing that God would avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation." She said she was told that her throat would be cut if she ever revealed any of the secrets. She also testified that every Mormon in good standing wore as an undershirt "the mystic garment," which bore symbols of body destruction as a penalty for violating the oaths; that this garment was put on in the temple and was never to be taken off. Charles H. Jackson, chairman of the State Democratic Committee of Idaho, testified that the great question in that State was the growing power of the Mormon Church and its interference in State affairs. Apostles of the Church, he said, living in Utah went into Idaho and instructed their people to vote a certain way, saying it was the revelation that they should vote so and so, and that it was the desire of the Church. Gov. Morrison, a Republican, he declared, was defeated by the Mormon Church for renomination, according to the belief in Idaho. Of the twenty-one counties, six are controlled by the Mormons. The Mormon counties voted entirely for Mr. Gooding, Gov. Morrison's opponent. Both are Gentiles. He also testified that the Mormon Church secures the enactment of laws financially beneficial to its leaders, and even endeavors to amend the State Constitution so as to permit the practice of polygamy. The overshadowing danger of church interference in politics had contributed to bring the Democratic and Republican parties together in making church interference the paramount issue to be fought out by all non-Mormons, regardless of party lines.

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PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM 1789 TO 1904.

Name.	Born.	Died.	Age
George Washington.	Va., 1732.	Mt. Vernon, Va., 1799,	67
John Adams.	Mass., 1735.	Quincy, Mass., July 4, 1826,	91
Thomas Jefferson.	Va., 1743.	Monticello, Va., July 4, 1826,	83
James Madison.	Va., 1751.	Montpelier, Vt., 1836,	85
James Monroe.	Va., 1758.	New York, July 4, 1831,	73
John Quincy Adams.	Mass., 1767.	Washington, D. C., 1848,	81
Andrew Jackson.	N. C., 1767.	Hermitage, Tenn., 1845,	78
Martin Van Buren.	N. Y., 1782.	Kinderhook, N. Y., 1862,	80
Wm. Henry Harrison	Va., 1773.	Washington, D. C., 1841,	68
John Tyler.	Va., 1790.	Richmond, Va., 1862,	72
James K. Polk.	N. C., 1795.	Nashville, Tenn., 1849,	54
Zachary Taylor	Va., 1784.	Washington, D. C., 1850,	66
Millard Fillmore.	N. Y., 1800.	Buffalo, N. Y., 1873,	73
Franklin Pierce.	N. H., 1804.	Concord, N. H., 1869,	65
James Buchanan.	Penn., 1791.	Wheatland, Penn., 1868,	77
Abraham Lincoln.	Ky., 1809.	Washington, D. C., 1865,	56
Andrew Johnson	N. C., 1808.	Greenville, Tenn., 1875,	67
Ulysses S. Grant	Ohio, 1822.	Mt. McGregor, N. Y., 1885,	63
Rutherford B. Hayes	" 1822.	Fremont, O., Jan. 17, 1893,	70
James A. Garfield.	" 1831.	Elberon, N. J., Sept. 19, 1881,	50
Chester A. Arthur.	Vt., 1830.	New York City, Nov. 18, '86,	56
Grover Cleveland.	N. J., 1837.		
Benjamin Harrison.	Ohio, 1833.	Indianapolis, March 13, 1901,	68
Grover Cleveland.	N. J., 1837.		
William McKinley.	Ohio, 1843.	Buffalo, Sept. 14, 1901,	58
Theodore Roosevelt.	N. Y., 1858.		

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